

Would Jesus ever have backed party of right?

I AM encouraged to hear Tony Blair seek to draw a link between his Christian faith and his political convictions (Blair enrages Conservatives by enlisting God on his side, April 14). I find the reactions by some Tory politicians to his comments to be curious indeed, to the point of disingenuousness.

Many Christians see the search for just a society as an essential dimension of the Christian faith. This often leads to views and stands on political issues that would normally be perceived as left-of-centre. Many thoughtful and serious Christians are drawn to the left-of-centre political parties because they view these groups as supporting social values similar to those advocated by the Christian faith.

Read any one of the four Gospels in the New Testament, then answer this question: "Could you imagine Jesus of Nazareth, as he was described in the Gospels, voting for a rightwing political party?"

(The Rev) Robert J. Faser, Clarendon, Tasmania, Australia

NEARLY 15 years ago, a friend now climbing to dizzy heights in the Tory party was lamenting the broadly held belief that the only people with any ideals or altruism must be socialists and that to be virtuous and a Conservative were incompatible.

He extended his extremely able mind in the pursuit of a positive image to justify his allegiance to the Conservatives. All he came up with were notions of efficient management and business sense.

The latest howl of pain suggests that the Tories know they have failed, in the intervening years, to

find anything better to cloak their philosophy and that they've blown the efficiency and managerial claims too.

S J Clarke, Hayfield, Derbyshire

TONY BLAIR has got something right but did not go far enough. Christianity may be summed up as "succour the weak, the sick and the poor at the expense of the strong, the healthy and the rich". Post-1979 Conservatism puts it the opposite way round: "Support the strong, the healthy and the rich at the expense of the weak, the sick and the poor."

Tony Freke, Newbury, Berkshire

I AM pleased that Tony Blair should attack Conservative self-interest as un-Christian. But will he apply his views to his own party? It contains several MPs and prospective MPs whose excessive wealth and luxurious lifestyles are inconsistent with both socialism and Christianity. What will our leader do about these Labour Pharisees?

Bob Holman, Glasgow

Beijing attack unwarranted

KEITH RICHBURG'S attempt to vilify China (Washington Post, March 31) is wrong-headed and ill-intended. It does ask the questions which must be asked — how can China be convinced to follow acceptable trade rules, on, say, selling nu-

clear goods — but it imbues these questions in a language that demeans China.

Richburg's arguments do not serve to point to any resolution of the new situation in Asia. Rather than propose the surrounding states dump their reserves into buying arms from the West, they should dump those funds into buying media and entertainment technology and knowledge from the West. Thus was won the Cold War I.

China's lack of democracy seems less tractable. But it has a context. The context is that the country holds, Mr Richburg notes, 22 per cent of the world's population. Keeping them alive, healthy, and eating well is a monumental task for a government.

Given our own inability to make large bureaucracies work, China seems to be doing quite well (Mr Richburg cites a 10 per cent economic growth rate). We should do what we can to assist, perhaps offering carrots rather than sticks, and not act in a way to reinforce racist images of the West.

Fred Ryan, Editor, The Pontiac Journal, Port Coulonge, Quebec, Canada

Mandela's breath of fresh air

THANK YOU for giving us Frédéric Chambon's article (Le Monde, March 31). Nelson Mandela's approach to foreign policy comes through as a wonderful breath of fresh air in official international relations. The departments of foreign affairs of the Western democracies and the political commentators evidently do not like this approach. We are treated to phrases like: "The president's idiosyncratic diplomacy," "confusion and clumsiness."

They contrast strikingly with quotes from Mandela himself: "My line of conduct is to receive anyone who asks to see me, whether or not I share his ideas," and "They are my friends who were with us when we were alone."

We were all against apartheid, but Mandela must not admit that Castro and Gaddafi were friends of the ANC during their long struggle, in case he risks ruffling the feathers of Helmut Kohl and Al Gore. He must not talk to representatives of Hamas or the Algerian Islamic Front as it brings protests from the Jewish community.

Perhaps President Mandela has not yet learned the niceties of diplomatic relationships. Or perhaps he sees current diplomatic practices as contributing to persistent hostile attitudes, terrorism, and war. He may see an advantage for the world community in dialogue with, rather than ostracism of, those who hold views we do not accept.

Alan Phillips, Joyce Phillips, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada

Smoking out beef's dangers

SURELY if we accept that America has the right to sue tobacco companies to pay medical bills for smokers (Washington Post, March 24), this opens the way to sue cattle feed producers over mad cow disease, chemical companies for widespread pollution of drinking water with agricultural and industrial chemicals, car manufacturers

for the major air pollution of cities leading to a massive increase in asthma and other breathing problems, arms dealers over world-wide maiming and death caused to peasant farmers in many countries, plus innumerable other industries and governments for damaging people and the environment we all live in. At least smokers, unlike people affected by the above mentioned, do it to themselves.

Michael James, Riogordo, Malaga, Spain

THE restoration of consumer confidence in British beef is an urgent priority. Martin Wilker unwittingly suggests how this could be achieved (Baby come and light my cigarette, March 31) when he describes how a beleaguered American tobacco industry survived intact through the use of steamy classified ads that "take seasoned voyeurs to realms of experience that are beyond mere pornography". It would be a simple matter to replace the cigarette with a nice juicy beef steak and turn it into an irresistible erotic experience that would have the consumers stampeding to the supermarkets.

French consumers would swamp cross-channel transport in their rush to enjoy the ultimate erotic experience of eating British beef. Meddling bureaucrats in Brussels would no doubt pass a law forbidding the sale of erotic steaks unless they were labelled "Parental guidance is recommended when feeding this product to children. This product can endanger your morals."

A J Lenton, Balcowan, South Africa

Saudi opposition with a difference

DAVID HIRST spent too much time in the sun in Riyadh or perhaps he fell into bad company (Saudi opposition has much in common with regime, April 14). The Saudi opposition is fighting for an elected, accountable government in our country. Surely this is more than a shade different from the Saudi regime, which has never permitted any elections at any time in its history?

Of course, the basic "constitution" of Arabia would be Islamic: 99.99 per cent of our people are sincere Muslims. Why is that different from the German constitution, for example, which requires a commitment to democracy and against fascism from its electoral political parties?

Mr Hirst says that our rulers are "fundamentalist". Untrue. They are hypocrites who cloak themselves in their own mutilated version of Islam while violating each and every tenet of the Koran.

The Saudi opposition stands for an independent judiciary and a free press able to criticise it and the elected government. How different from the Riyadh visited by Mr Hirst. Mr Hirst says that "all Saudi fundamentalists end up taking the Christian West as their models". When Mr Gandhi was asked what he thought of "Western civilisation" he replied: "Yes I think that would be a good idea." The Saudi regime exists only because of the West which, in return, turns a blind eye to Saudi corruption, hypocrisy and cruelty.

(Prof) Muhammad al-Mas'ari, London

Briefly

THE CURRENT fighting in the Liberian capital, Monrovia, threatens a new disaster on top of an existing humanitarian emergency (Warlords rampage in Liberian capital, April 14). For the first time in five years war has entered the centre of Monrovia, turning what had been a safe haven for up to 1 million civilians into a nightmare of conflict and looting.

As our 1995 report suggested, the international powers should re-engage with Liberia, and the UN should take back the reins of diplomatic negotiation.

Mark Bowden, Africa director, Save The Children Fund, London

JOHN WARBURTON (April 14) complains that sexism is acceptable in the armed forces. This results not only in incidents such as the killing of Louise Jensen but also widespread homophobia.

Surely the *raison d'être* of armed forces — the furtherance of a state's ambitions (defensive or offensive) by young men armed both with guns and trained bellicosity — precludes such delicacy.

The day when the "representative" soldier is able to reason against homophobia or sexism may be the day he can reason against his own existence as a soldier.

Gray Charlton, Sydney, Australia

I AM surprised that police chiefs wish to extend the remit of Commander Grieve, head of the anti-terrorist branch, to include environmental activists (Police call for anti-terror squads to spy on greens, April 7). This story substantiates what we have consistently suspected: that the police are not impartial and are being used as security guards for the Department of Trade and other vested interests, such as animal exporters.

Hugo Charlton, London

STEPHEN HATNESS' concern for Europe's "grey future" is unwarranted (March 17). After a fall in fertility a period of relatively more aged must follow, but demographers are apt to forget that the dependent population also includes those too young to work and the unemployed. Both these groups are lessened by a low birth rate. If ever there is too much work for those of working age it will be a delightful new problem.

A lower birth rate means healthier babies and mothers. It's part of a better life for women. In this respect Europe sets a good example, which women in the rest of the world are following, although none too quickly.

(Dr) Guy Richards, Vancouver, Canada

The Guardian Weekly

April 21, 1998 Vol 154 No 19
Copyright © 1998 by Guardian Publications Ltd., 119 Farringdon Road, London, United Kingdom. All rights reserved.
Annual subscription rates are £47 (United Kingdom); £52 (Europe inc. Eire); £55 USA and Canada; £60 Rest of World.
Letters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ.
Fax: 44-171-242-0985 (UK: 0171-242 0985); e-mail: weekly@guardian.co.uk

Bosnia secures \$1.8bn aid package

William Drozdzak in Brussels

DONOR nations fulfilled a critical dimension of the Dayton peace accords at the weekend by making new financial commitments to reach their goal of \$1.8 billion for the reconstruction of Bosnia this year.

Representatives of 50 countries who attended a two-day conference hosted by the World Bank and the European Union pledged \$1.23 billion while vowing to accelerate the flow of aid over the summer so that the Bosnian people will be able to reap tangible peace dividends by the time elections are held in early September.

After nearly four years of war, an enduring truce has been established under the Nato-led peace-

keeping force. The United States and European nations have emphasised that greater attention must now be focused on rebuilding the Bosnian economy so that rival Serbs, Croats and Muslims will have a stake in sustaining peace after the peacekeepers leave at the end of the year.

But the Bosnian Serbs, heading a boycott call by their leader, Radovan Karadzic, have refused to cooperate. They did not send any representatives to the conference, prompting the other delegations to declare that the Serbs would not share in any aid money until they show greater compliance with last year's Dayton agreement.

Carl Bildt, the former Swedish prime minister who is spearheading the reconstruction effort, warned

that the Serbs ran the risk of depriving themselves of the peace dividend if they maintain their support for Mr Karadzic and the military commander, Ratko Mladic. Both have been indicted by the UN war crimes tribunal in The Hague, and the US has said that under the terms of Dayton, they cannot long remain in office.

The World Bank and the EU estimate that Bosnia will require more than \$5 billion in aid over the next three to four years to jump-start the recovery process from the devastation caused by Europe's bloodiest conflict since the second world war.

Per capita income has fallen to a quarter of its pre-war levels while industrial production is barely 10 per cent. One million refugees are scattered around Europe, while of those who stayed behind, three-quarters

are unemployed and require humanitarian aid.

Between the dual entities set up in Bosnia by the Dayton peace accords, the Muslim-Croat federation is supposed to get \$3.7 billion of the aid money while \$1.4 billion is slated for the Bosnian Serb Republic.

"We all know we have a tough job to do," said the World Bank president, James Wolfensohn. "There is a sense of urgency, but we now have, I believe, a strong endorsement by the international community."

Mr Wolfensohn said most of the money would be devoted to urgent infrastructure tasks, such as rebuilding utilities, roads and farms, so that recovery can be sped up during the mild weather seasons that are more conducive to construction and planting.



Riding shotgun... Gunmen in a car adorned with the Liberian flag drive past the US embassy in Monrovia as looting continues. Terrified Liberians have been left to fend for themselves among gangs of gunmen and looting cadres with water run low. Aid workers have been forced to abandon the country; the UN and the Red Cross withdrew when looters overran their offices. *Washington Post, page 16*

Bomb kills six in a 'political' attack on Imran Khan hospital

Gerald Bourke in Islamabad

IMRAN KHAN, the former great cricket all-rounder, condemned as the work of "a savage or an animal" the bombing of his cancer hospital in Lahore on Sunday, in which six people were killed and more than 30 injured.

The attack on the Shaukat Khanum Memorial Trust Hospital outside Lahore, capital of the Punjab province, is widely seen as an attempt to sabotage his budding political career.

The blast happened just after noon. The bomb, which was hidden under a sofa in the waiting area of the chemotherapy department, destroyed the crowded outpatients area and caused damage worth about \$1 million.

"There were bodies everywhere," said Raja Chaudhry, the hospital director. "Doors were blown out and there was mangled furniture all over the place. It's a tragedy. How could anyone bomb a hospital?" He added that Sunday morning, when new patients are registered, was the busiest time of the week.

Mr Khan's hospital, open for little more than a year, was financed with donations from the public and dedicated to his mother, who died of cancer 10 years ago. Treatment is free for most patients who cannot afford to pay.

Mr Khan, who arrived at the hospital 45 minutes after the blast, said: "I would not like to name anyone. But whoever has carried out this cruel act has a very small mind. He said the bomb attack was aimed at frightening him into giving up his social welfare aims. 'I want to tell those who want to scare me, that I will move forward with greater determination.'"

On Monday Mr Khan threw down the gauntlet to Pakistan's prime minister, Benazir Bhutto, by declaring he would launch himself into politics later this month.

The legendary cricketer insisted at first he would lead a reform movement rather than a political party, but then seemed to change his mind. "Going into politics, and starting a movement for reform are two different things. Or, perhaps, they are the same thing," Mr Khan, aged 43, said.

"I am more determined than ever that this country needs reform. This act [the bombing] shows that law

and order is breaking down, that our institutions are breaking down."

Corruption was "unprecedented", he said, denouncing the "extravagant lifestyles" of Pakistan's ruling politicians. "We want reform in this country and I'm telling you I speak for the majority of the people," he added.

Asked whether his group, whose make-up remains obscure, would register as a party and contest elections, he said: "I'm not talking about votes at this time. I'm talking about a movement of people who are sick of the system."

Grassroots disaffection with Ms Bhutto's administration, which is halfway through its five-year term, has turned to exasperation. It has not delivered on promises to raise the living standards of the mostly poor voters who elected it, and is seen as dictatorial and repressive. Aggressive politicisation has undermined the credibility of the judiciary, bureaucracy, and police.

Most of Mr Khan's anger was directed at Ms Bhutto. Asked whether it was significant he had not received her when she visited the hospital after the blast, he replied: "It is very significant. I feel that her government, whether she knows it or not, is responsible for creating so many hurdles in the way of this hospital."

"I didn't want to be here when she was here. It would have been hypocritical of me to stand and smile for people who want to make political capital. I strongly condemn this. I think politicians should make sure they do not capitalise on the miseries of their own people."

Since retiring from cricket after leading his country to victory in the 1992 World Cup, Mr Khan has become a controversial figure. He embraced Islam and denounced Western values as shallow. It was a stance at odds with his playboy image as a sports celebrity, and provoked accusations of hypocrisy.

These became more strident last year when, after months of claiming he would like to marry a modest Muslim girl, it emerged he had secretly married Jemima Goldsmith, daughter of the billionaire businessman Sir James Goldsmith.

But his cancer hospital and a recent mass literacy programme have made him hugely popular with Pakistanis. So too has his growing criticism of the country's ruling elite.

Pact sours Turkish ties

Chris Nuttall in Ankara

TURKEY'S relations with its Muslim neighbours and the Arab world were further soured last week when it announced that it had asked Iran to withdraw four of its diplomats for "activities incompatible with their status".

The foreign ministry said four Turkish diplomats, accused by Tehran of spying, would also be recalled. "Our diplomats carried out their duties in accordance with international law," the ministry's spokesman, Omer Akbel, said. "They have been accused unjustly."

The Iranian diplomats had been named as his contacts by an Islamic fundamentalist "hitman" arrested in Istanbul last month. He is wanted in connection with the assassination of Iranian dissidents and prominent Turkish secularists.

The tit-for-tat exchange follows a week of intense criticism of Turkey for signing a military co-operation deal with Israel.

The Arab League said it was "an act of aggression" and "a direct threat against Syria, Lebanon and Iraq as well as other Arab countries [which] shows the evil intentions of Israel and Turkey towards the Arabs".

Iranian newspapers commented: "We now have to worry about the

presence of Israeli jet fighters on our doorsteps."

The Iraq press said the deal would "encourage the Zionist entity to continue its policy of occupation and colonisation".

Syria reminded Turkey of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference resolution, supported by Ankara, stating that all OIC members should abstain from any form of military co-operation with Israel while it continued to occupy Arab land.

Libya said the accord gave the Israeli "a dangerous and vulgar breakthrough which will serve their plans to dominate the region".

The worst fighting for a year between the Turkish army and Kurdish separatist guerrillas raged last week 10,000 feet up in the snow-covered mountains of south-eastern Turkey, with the army closing in on the rebels.

Special teams and commandos had carried out cross-border raids on bases of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in northern Iraq.

Thirty soldiers and around 100 members of the PKK were killed in five days of clashes, the authorities said. They are the heaviest casualties sustained by either side since the six-week incursion by 35,000 troops into northern Iraq launched last March to destroy PKK bases there.

Clinton seeks Korea talks

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton this week proposed four-party talks between North and South Korea, China and the United States to help promote a dialogue between the two Koreas, US officials said.

They said Mr Clinton would discuss the issue on Tuesday during his talks on Cheju Island with the South Korean president, Kim Young-sam.

Mr Clinton said the US wanted to "do what we can to promote an ultimate reconciliation and an end to the conflict" on the Korean peninsula, after North Korea sent troops across the demilitarised zone between the two Koreas, in violation of the armistice agreement.

President Clinton then flew to Tokyo to put the finishing touches to a new defence and security deal with Japan, which will preserve the strength of US forces in the country, but lessen what one defence expert calls "the deep footprint of the American military". The deal presents the Americans as gracious guests. — *Reuters*

Washington Post, page 16

The Week

FBI agents have recovered what they believe is a draft of the "Unabomber" manifesto from the remote Montana cabin of Theodore Kaczynski, the suspect arrested earlier this month.

PRESIDENT Clinton has nominated Mickey Kantor, the US trade representative, as his new commerce secretary to succeed Ron Brown, who died in a plane crash in Croatia earlier this month.

THE elderly parents of Ken Saro-Wiwa, the executed Nigerian writer and activist, are in hiding amid fears of a renewed crackdown by the military regime against dissidents.

THE US's biggest sexual harassment case, involving more than 300 women, is being brought against a Mitsubishi factory in Illinois by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. Washington Post, page 16

A STUNNING collection of Trojan gold, seized by Soviet troops in Nazi Berlin in 1945, went on show in Moscow and immediately provoked demands from Germany for the return of the treasures.

ONE of the 11 hostages being held by separatist rebels in the Ballem Valley of Indonesia's Irian Jaya province is seriously ill while two others are in poor health, officials said.

AT LEAST 10 terminally ill people have moved to Australia's Northern Territory, where voluntary euthanasia legislation comes into effect in July.

AN INDONESIAN soldier ran wild at remote Timika airport in Irian Jaya, shooting dead 15 people — including at least 10 military colleagues.

GERMAN officials said black-mailers had threatened to poison with lethal snake venom food in stores across Europe unless they received diamonds worth \$263 million.

AUN investigator, Maurice Glele-Ahanhanzo, said that France was being shaken by "a wave of xenophobia and racism", belying its image as the cradle of human rights.

FORMER US congressman Dan Rostenkowski pleaded guilty in a Washington federal court to two counts of mail fraud. He was sentenced to 17 months in prison and fined \$100,000.

A SWEDISH court has fined a couple \$660 for breaking the law by naming their son *Braxxeccoxinnpeccellimhpr* *xxvvehmcncssqllbb11116* — or Albin for short.

German fire may lead to charges

John Mullin

GERMAN prosecutors are considering criminal charges against maintenance workers after 16 people died at Düsseldorf in the country's worst airport fire, it emerged last week.

They will also consider action against the airport's management. City firefighters were not alerted until 30 minutes after the blaze was discovered.

Seven Germans, six French, two Italians and one Briton suffocated from poisonous fumes, some while trapped in a lift jammed between floors and others in an Air France waiting lounge. Most of the dead were returning from Easter breaks.

Prosecutor Rolf Chanteaux said: "We have opened an investigation for negligent arson and negligent killing." He said was targeting a wide group of people, not only a group of welders who were working above a flower shop in terminal A when they inadvertently melted a bitumen sealant.

The sealant dripped onto a false floor containing electrical wiring. The PVC-covered cables began to smoulder, giving off cyanide, chloride, carbon monoxide and possibly dioxin.

The fumes were funnelled down ventilation shafts to both the arrivals and departures areas and the railway station underneath the terminal. Thick black smoke filled the hall, which was packed with



Footprints of firefighters and fleeing passengers left on the soot-stained floor of Düsseldorf airport

2,500 travellers and staff, within 30 seconds.

As panicking staff and passengers rushed to find fire exits, the wrong evacuation message was then broadcast. A recorded announce-

ment instructed passengers to go down to the arrivals floor — into the heart of Germany's worst airport blaze.

It took fire fighters five hours to bring the blaze under control.

China fails in show of democracy

Andrew Higgins in Hong Kong

CHINA'S first attempt to canvass Hong Kong public opinion ahead of the 1997 handover descended into pandemonium at the weekend, with the forcible eviction of invited student leaders, and a Chinese mandarin fleeing by taxi from scuffles at a luxury hotel.

The closed-door encounter between Chinese officials and invited representatives of Hong Kong's 6.4 million people ended amid chants of protest outside the five-star Grand Hyatt Hotel and black smoke billowing from a tyre set alight near the lobby entrance.

"This is not consultation. This is just a show. They want to pretend they are listening to the voice of Hong Kong," said by Chan, a sociology student aged 22, who was one of two members of the Hong Kong Federation of Students to be ejected from the talks.

The fracas marred a meeting seen as an important test of China's readiness to tolerate dissent over plans for the territory after the departure, at midnight on June 30 next year, of Chris Patten, the 28th and last colonial governor.

"For Chinese officials I think one lesson is that this is a free and open society," Mr Patten said at the weekend. "We tolerate expressions of all sorts of opinions and it is a sign of strength and self-confidence if you try to embrace all shades of opinion."

During his recent visit to Britain, Mr Patten met John Major to discuss the fraught relations with China over the handover, and what British officials see as a crisis of confidence in the colony.

In an attempt to counter accusations of intolerance, Chinese officials had extended a surprise last-minute invitation to student leaders to discussions organised by the Preparatory Committee, a Beijing-appointed group of mainland and Hong Kong dignitaries. The gesture backfired, when security guards were called to toss out the students who had begun distributing leaflets. The two ejected students wore T-shirts with slogans attacking "bogus consultations" and China's plans to replace Hong Kong's elected legislature with a hand-picked "provisional" assembly.

"We spoke peacefully but this demonstrates what they mean by consultation," said Ms Chan, showing an arm bruised by security guards.

Chen Zu'er, a Chinese official chairing the meeting, defended the students' expulsion. "Their behaviour made more than 70 other participants shocked and dissatisfied. To allow the consultation session to continue normally, we had no choice but to make them leave."

Anger over the scrapping of Hong Kong's elected legislature drew about 1,000 protesters at the weekend for a march from the central business district to the Xinhua News Agency, China's de facto embassy in the colony. Protesters stamped on bamboo bird cages.

"I'd rather be a small bird flying free than a canary in a cage singing only songs a master likes to hear," said Cheung Man-kyong, chairman of the Professional Teachers' Union, a group originally invited to air its views but later barred.



He wanted to make umbrellas and I needed to dip into my rainy day fund.

We don't have much call for umbrellas here in Tenerife. It was one of the main reasons why we retired here. Plenty of sunshine, a relaxed lifestyle and a cost of living that's more affordable.

When my husband stopped working and we decided to leave England, there was a lot to organise. One of the most important decisions we reached was to keep our banking with Lloyds Bank but to move most of the balance to their Overseas Club in Jersey.

I envisaged things would be different as expatriates. For instance, I wouldn't be popping down the High Street to the bank and a salary cheque wouldn't be appearing every month on our statement. A regular income was going to be required.

Comprehensive service

We were going to need local currency and there were going to be tax implications. Since the property market in Britain was uncertain we decided to rent our house out rather than sell.

This was when I discovered how comprehensive a service the Overseas Club offered.

We were appointed a personal Club Executive, Jean, and the team supporting her, was very helpful. I don't believe I've ever spent so much time discussing my affairs with a bank and I've also never had so much input.

Easier house letting

The transfer of funds from our account in Britain, our plastic cards,

and all our direct debits were arranged very efficiently.

Letting our house proved to be easier than expected and that was thanks to Lloyds Bank. One of Jean's team arranged it through Black Horse Agencies who also manage the property and so another problem was solved.



Renting the house helped to provide us with a regular income but we also decided to invest some of our nest egg in equity funds to provide that bit extra and hopefully to build up our capital.

Again, Jean was able to help us and give us details of suitable funds including some from Lloyds Bank. I've had occasional contact with Jean since and keep in touch with things by reading *Shoreline*, the quarterly Club magazine.

Then I got the call about the umbrellas.

My son, Julian, rang me last month from his home in Hong Kong. He's been out there with his family for a number of years and is employed by a company making umbrellas.

Extra cash - fast

He now had the opportunity to take part in a management buy-out. It was what he had always wanted but he needed to raise some extra cash very quickly. Well, we couldn't stand by and see him miss out so I

got on the phone to Jean to see what could be done.

"Can you get this money to Hong Kong in three days?" was the question and Jean's answer was a reassuring "yes". I knew it wasn't going to be that simple because the only way we could afford to loan him this money was if we sold some of our investments. We discussed the implications and chose a course of action that suited the situation best. Whatever problems it posed the Bank I was blissfully unaware of. The money was telegraphically transferred in time and my son has just rung to say the buy-out is all completed and his name is on the directors' list.

Offshore Banking isn't just about saving unnecessary tax or investing millions in offshore trusts - at Lloyds Bank it's about very practical help in running your financial affairs when you can't run around the corner to the bank! With Lloyds Bank you're home and dry.

The Lloyds Bank Overseas Club is located in our Offshore Centres in the Isle of Man, Jersey and Guernsey. These Centres are equipped to meet the specific needs of the UK expatriate and foreign resident. The Club seeks to develop quality relationships with its Members through relationship banking and offers a personal Club Executive and supporting team giving you access to the very wide range of offshore and banking skills available from one of the world's leading banks. This professional approach is exemplified by our modest annual subscription: £50 for a sterling account, US\$75 for a dollar account, or £50 + US\$25 for both. This provides you with a cheque account free of normal transaction charges offering premium rates of interest, free help and information on investments, useful debit and credit cards, a quarterly Club magazine full of investment news and a host of ancillary benefits.

FREE MEMBERSHIP!

We are so sure that you will appreciate the benefits of joining the Overseas Club that you can now join on a no-cost, no-obligation basis. Send us your details on the coupon below and we'll rush you a brochure and application form.

No annual subscription will be charged for the first three months of Membership so you have time to evaluate the service.

IF YOU WOULD LIKE ANY MORE DETAILS OR TO DISCUSS ANY ASPECT PLEASE PHONE +44 (0) 1624 638104 OR FAX +44 (0) 1624 638181

Send to: Lloyds Bank Offshore Centre, PO Box 12, Douglas, Isle of Man, British Isles. Please send me a brochure on the Lloyds Bank Overseas Club and details of the Offshore Centres.

Are you currently a Lloyds Bank customer? Yes No

Title Surname First names

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

Address

BRINGING THE PERSONAL TOUCH TO OFFSHORE BANKING



GW 496

This advertisement is based upon events which can occur. The events and characters portrayed are fictitious, any similarities to persons or events are coincidental. The terms of the Lloyds Bank Personal and Gold Service Personal Card is at the discretion of the Bank, and you must be 18 or over (20 or over in Jersey) to apply. How much we lend (if any) depends on our assessment of your financial position and you must be 18 or over (20 or over in Jersey) to apply. Interest rates may vary. Overdrafts are repayable in full on demand by the Bank. The offices of Lloyds Bank Plc in the Isle of Man and Lloyds Bank Insurance Services (Life and Pensions) Ltd are registered with the Isle of Man Financial Supervision Commission, the former for banking and investment business and the latter for investment business. Deposits are not covered under the Deposit Protection Scheme under the UK Banking Act 1987 (as amended). Deposits made with an Isle of Man office of Lloyds Bank Plc are covered by the Depositors Compensation Scheme contained in the Banking Business (Compensation of Depositors) Regulations 1991.

OVERSEAS CLUB MEMBERSHIP, LLOYDS BANK OFFSHORE CENTRE, PO BOX 12, DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN, BRITISH ISLES.

Blair and Bill make a perfect match



The US this week

Martin Walker

HE COULD almost have been the Stealth candidate. Tony Blair's first trip to the White House was barely a dot on the outer rim of the American radar screen in the days before his arrival, generating much less attention than the now-regular visits by Gerry Adams.

There had been a couple of approving profiles in those increasingly rare magazines which contain words rather than pictures, such as the New Yorker, the New Republic and the New Democrat. Political junkies knew his face from the C-Span channel's broadcast of House of Commons Question Time, and inside the State Department they already see him as the British prime minister-in-waiting.

Thanks to some careful advance work at the US Treasury and the Federal Reserve by Labour's economic spokesman, Gordon Brown, there was none of that rippling of alarm at Labour's reform plans. There were no off-the-record grumbles about unsound allies from the Pentagon or CIA, in the way that Nell Kinnock's White House call was soured in advance a decade ago.

Beyond these arcane levels, Tony Blair had yet to make much mark on the United States. Little was made of the attempts by the Conservative party to smear him in advance as just another pink Labour peacenik. There were some nasty briefings to American reporters in London, and a hastily compiled pamphlet entitled "Tony Blair's Un-American Activities" were sent out to Republicans in Congress. Since Congress is still on its Easter vacation, few have noticed.

There is now a serious prospect that the rest of this decade could see two like-minded Oxford men, each one a lawyer and married to a lawyer, governing in tandem. They have a great deal in common, from a readiness to talk of politics in terms of religion to a deliberate rejection of every ideological tradition of the left. Each man has imposed his own loyalists and a uniform message upon the party, even as each steers instinctively for the centre ground. In the misty future, they could be very useful allies.

British politicians are valued the less in Washington these days, because their strategic utility in the cold war has not been replaced by a similar usefulness in its aftermath. Both the Bush and Clinton administrations have said it often enough, that Britain's value to Washington will rise and fall with Britain's influence in Europe. And the White House sees Blair jockeying their Trojan horse into Europe far more

skillfully than the exhausted John Major.

But in the short term, each man has to win his election. And each one had reason to suspect that his cause might be just a bit tarnished by too much identification with the other. Beyond the obvious delicacy of being too closely identified with a scandal-prone Mr Clinton, the timing was acutely tricky for Blair. He could be fighting a British election next month, or six months after Clinton is either re-elected or turfed out of office by President Dole.

With the election looming, Clinton does not want too many reminders of the anti-war protests of his Oxford days, nor of Labour's radicalism in the 1980s. Nor does he want the voters to recall his 1992 campaign rhetoric about the merits of European social democracies in delivering health services and job training to their citizens. The irony in the Clinton-Blair relationship is that it may prosper best if it can be kept deliberately low-key in this election season.

So Blair was more than a touch nervous about the American visit. It was, of course, required of him, one of those rites of passage that opposition leaders in important democracies allied to America simply have to undergo. There is even a protocol for the business. In the White House, it is usually a brisk 20 minutes. If the current friendly head of government would be really cheered off, as Mikhail Gorbachev was by the thought of Boris Yeltsin in the Oval Office, then the Yeltsin figure visits the vice-president or the national security adviser, and the president then does what is known as a "drop-by".

But Blair was entitled to rather more than 20 minutes. First, this was a Brit, and ever since the fuss over Northern Ireland, the Clintonites are very sensitive about the so-called special relationship. They may not be able to define it, but they know they have to mention it a lot when Brits are present. (One of Clinton's senior advisers told me that it reminded him of a school project his young daughters had to fulfil: carrying a raw egg around in a box for 24 hours to learn the need for responsibility in handling fragile objects.)

Second, there is meant to be an even deeper special relationship between the Labour and Democratic parties. Not many of the Clintonites know why, Labour having been out of power for so long, but they all accept this. There is historical truth here. It is not widely known that Britain's legendary trade union leader and foreign secretary, Ernest Bevin, signed the Nato treaty and then affixed his seal with a signet ring given him by Samuel Gompers, the first president of the American Federation of Labour. "That'll teach them Rooshuns to tell me 'Workers of the World, Unite!'," Bevin snorted.

The Clintonites recall the way John Major's Conservative party showed blatant partisanship in his help for George Bush in the 1992 presidential election. They also appreciate the way that Labour's pollster Philip Gould flew over to Little Rock in the last weeks of that campaign to help frustrate the knavish Tory tricks.

Clinton had met and liked Blair on his trip to Britain last November. He discovered that Blair was, like



him, a lawyer, and was married, like him, to a clever, ambitious and highly political woman who was also a lawyer. The two men are interested in policy, and in the 40 minutes of their eventual discussions on Friday last week, the two fortysomething baby-boomers discussed job insecurity, training, and portable pensions. "It was a good old workathon," commented White House spokesman Mike McCurry, and such is the ease of translation between the two cultures that even the visiting British hacks knew this meant that two policy wonks had been happily discussing abstruse policy detail. Blair certainly im-

Blair played the Washington power circuit for laughs in a 36-hour visit that finally laid the ghost of joyless old Labour

pressed Clinton and laid the foundation for what could be an interesting relationship over the next five years if they each win their respective elections.

But Blair had other tasks to fulfil. Above all, in a brief excursion to New York, he needed to reassure Wall Street that the owners of capital had not the slightest cause for concern when the British government next fell into Labour's hands. Blair did so well that mega-financier George Soros, best known for making a billion dollars in 1992 from speculating against sterling in the European Exchange Rate Mechanism crisis, issued what amounted to an endorsement of the Labour party. This may not be altogether a comfort; Soros may see another billion-dollar opportunity looming in Labour's future.

As well as the financiers, Blair had to convey new Labour's fitness to rule to the Washington establishment, the political, media and social élites of the capital who tend to think as one, when they think at all. Their last memory of the British Labour party was some obscure Welshman coming to town to see President Reagan, and being mistaken for somebody else. (The story is true. Neil Kinnock turned up in the Oval Office with the veteran Denis Healey; the courteous old president rose from his desk, advanced on Healey, shook him warmly by the hand, and called him Neil. Reagan was over after convinced that Kinnock was a communist, even though it was Healey who had briefly joined the party while at Oxford in the 1930s. He used to ask Mrs Thatcher how that "red-haired Red" was getting on.)

Determined to avoid any such embarrassments, Blair toned down the politics and played the Washington power circuit for laughs in a 36-hour visit which finally laid the ghost of the joyless dogmatism of the old Labour party. It was less Camelot than the Comedy Club. His great Washington coup was to get retired General Colin Powell and Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan to applaud Labour's thumping victory in the Staffordshire South-East byelection.

"John Major's government is now reduced to a majority of one — it's not something the ambassador can applaud, but the rest of you can," he told a dinner of Washington's great and the good at the British embassy. And he waited till they did.

It was one of the stream of jokes and self-deprecatory (but carefully rehearsed) flashes of wit that spiced his first American visit as Labour leader. The riskiest he got was a joke about Anglo-American misunderstandings. It was a grand and formal dinner party much like this, Blair began. American heiress and

British MP Margot Asquith was getting cross with 1930s film star Jean Harlow who insisted on calling her Ma-Gott. Finally, her patience snapped.

"The T is silent," sniffed Asquith. "Unlike in your name."

The risk was less in the word "harlot" than in the long, long moment it took for the punch line to penetrate the genial fog of cocktails and wine. Still, Blanca Jagger liked it, and so did national security adviser Tony Lake. General Powell's wife looked startled.

Before the embassy dinner, Blair had First Lady Hillary Clinton in stitches at a private drinks party where he explained why Labour had been out of power for so long. "We had this slogan in the 1980s, which gives you some idea of the state we were in at that time — No Compromise with the Electorate," he offered. Hoots of laughter from the glitterati.

"After what seemed to me an abnormally long period of time, we realised that didn't work," he went on, at a party hosted by Sidney Blumenthal, who had just published a highly flattering profile of Blair in the New Yorker.

"Perhaps we should call him Sir Sidney from now on," Blair observed to the room of Democratic party and media heavyweights, which included New York editor Tina Brown, who had frown down from New York for the occasion.

"When I was at Oxford, the smartest thing you could possibly have was an invitation to one of Tina's parties — I never got one," Blair complained.

"We'll change that," she called out, but Blair was on to the next one-liner.

"I've just spent the day on Wall Street — so it's nice to be here among friends," he went on, getting a cheer from the last Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives, Tom Foley — the only veteran in a room of baby-boomers.

He talked politics with Clinton pollster Stan Greenberg. "The president has a 33-point lead among the over-sixties. It's historic. We've never seen margins like this."

He talked trade figures with Laura Tyson, head of the National Economic Council. "The change has come. US exports to Japan are growing six times as fast as Japan's exports to us."

And with Mrs Clinton, he tried to explain the defeat of the Australian Labor party and of the Spanish socialists, the eclipse of the left in France and Germany, and the way Labour in Britain and the Democrats in America had to keep the faith for "the values that brought us into politics are the same".

"We are the only bulwark against the increasingly extreme right wing that would tear down many of the most decent principles of any civilised society," he said, as Hillary nodded firmly over her orange juice. "They are increasingly nasty people, and they are increasingly people who preach a language of isolationism that I believe would be dangerous not just here in the United States but in Britain and Europe and the rest of the world."

The Democratic party had changed, and was now back in the White House. The Labour party had learned to change, but the job was unfinished. "I personally believe that we will probably have to change even further in terms of our outlook, and the messages that we have," Blair concluded. In effect, there is more change to come. For once, he did not sound as if he was joking.

Flawed democracy lumbers up for elections

Suzanne Goldenberg
In New Delhi

THE film stars have been recruited, the catchiest Hindi pop songs have been ripped off, web sites have been colonised, and India's 74-year-old prime minister, P V Narasimha Rao, has been captured on video in dozens of benevolent poses.

When the final date for nominations closed earlier this month, the world's largest democracy lumbered into a general election campaign, offering its 590 million voters a bewildering political canvas from which to choose their 543 representatives in the Lok Sabha, the lower house of parliament.

This is that brief moment when the hundreds of millions of poor and illiterate people, through sheer force of numbers, have an equal voice to the privileged few who generally dominate public life. And in this election more than ever before, politicians must pay attention to the demands of the dispossessed: lower-caste and Dalit (untouchable) Hindus.

"This is the way in which issues of social justice and equality are mobilised in our society," said Yogenra Yadav, co-ordinator of an ambitious programme to monitor the attitudes of 15,000 Indians to the elections, as well as general political issues. "There is so much assertion now for self-respect and dignity."

The elections come hard on the heels of an explosive corruption scandal, which has cost seven cabinet ministers their jobs and forced the retreat of several leading opposition figures.

Polling will be spread over three days between April 27 and May 7 in most of the country. Simultaneous elections for state assemblies are scheduled in West Bengal, which has had communist-led governments for nearly 20 years; the north-eastern tea garden region of Assam; Haryana, on the Delhi border; and the southern states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Pondicherry.

Counting is likely to be over by the middle of May, before security forces move up to Kashmir for a final date with the ballot box on May 30.

Already, voters have got a glimpse of the shifting alliances that will dominate the campaign. After five years in which the uncharismatic Mr Rao has confounded critics by consolidating a minority Congress (I) government and taking it to its full five-year term, few observers expect the election to yield a clear result.

Whether a lead is taken by the Congress, which has dominated India for most of the years since independence, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which has steamrolled to prominence by pandering to Hindu chauvinism, or the National Front-Left Front alliance, which claims to speak for the hundreds of millions of Indians oppressed by religion, caste and poverty, the outcome will rest on an ability to forge post-election alliances.

That is when the regional parties, whose appeal is mainly confined to single states, will be able to extract a price for their support, as will previously excluded constituencies such as Muslims, low-caste and Dalit Hindus, and Christians.

In such a fractured political landscape, even the six seats of Jammu and Kashmir, where separatist parties are expected to boycott the

polls, carry weight beyond their numbers.

The machinations have already begun. A minor socialist party has joined hands with the BJP in northern India: Mr Rao last month sealed an alliance with J Jayalalitha, the authoritarian film star chief minister of Tamil Nadu, after two years of rancour. And a junior minister has defected to the BJP.

Yet the polls coincide with a general sense of drift in political life. For all but 15 or 20 per cent of the population, the mechanics of the new marketplace and the intricacies of the corruption scandals remain a mystery, argues Yogenra Yadav.

The *haswala* affair, in which more

than 100 bureaucrats and politicians are alleged to have taken bribes from a black-market money changer, has made corruption the leading preoccupation of middle-class urban Indians. Opinion polls show more than 72 per cent of Indians believe that all politicians are crooked.

The elections offer a chance for voters to deliver their verdict on the English-speaking consumer culture that has engulfed cities since Mr Rao's government introduced market reforms. They also afford an opportunity for a final rejection of the Hindu chauvinism and caste hostility that so dominated the early part of the decade: the destruction of a

16th century mosque at Ayodhya in December 1993, the backlash against moves to expand affirmative action programmes to "backward" castes.

It is also a time to make parliament, where women have only 7 per cent of the seats and the number of senior citizens has crept up to 24.5 per cent, reflect more the diversity of Indian society.

None of these concerns have yet crystallised as election issues in the way that single concerns have for the past 20 years reduced general elections to plebiscites.

But for all the cynicism of the English-speaking élite, the inevitable rigging that will take place

at some polling stations and the craven alliance-making that will follow the vote, for most Indians this is much, much more than an empty exercise. Every election since independence has seen a bigger turnout.

"There is a sense of hope. There is a sense of trust," Mr Yadav said. "There is still deep faith in democracy, a faith not articulated in the language of liberal democracy perhaps, but that is really the hope for the country."

● Preaching stability and renewal, Mr Rao launched the ruling party's election manifesto at the weekend. He said his government had proved it could deliver stability — the traditional claim of Congress administrations — and after five years of sweeping economic reforms it could also offer hope.

Invest in Winning TSB Performance

TSB's two Managed Portfolios, which are managed by the award winning TSB Fund Managers (Channel Islands) Limited have shown excellent consistent growth over the last five years and are a very simple way for you to spread your risk and cover world markets. Your choice of Managed Growth or Balanced Portfolio depends on your personal needs. They are the most convenient way for you to invest in the TSB Umbrella Fund, TSB Offshore Investment Fund Limited which is a Jersey based company.

1997 Microcap Offshore & Internationally Marketed Funds Awards
Best Umbrella fund
Over 3 & 5 years
Best Small Investment Group*
Over 3 years

The outstandingly successful Portfolios invest in TSB Offshore Investment Fund Limited which is made up of nine share classes and between them cover investment markets around the world. The Managers will select from the nine share classes which best meet your needs and will then monitor your investment and switch it between share classes seeking as much return as possible for you.



You only need £10,000 to invest in a top performing TSB Managed Portfolio. Remember, past performance is not necessarily a guide to the future and the value of shares and the income from them can go down as well as up and cannot be guaranteed. Consequently, on selling, investors may not get back the amount they originally invested.

Or please complete the coupon
To: Liz Wiscombe, TSB Offshore Centre,
PO Box 897, St. Helier, Jersey, JE4 8KW Channel Islands.
Tel: +44 1534 820000. Fax: +44 1534 600211.
E-Mail: TSB@iinet.net

Please send me a copy of your prospectus with full details of TSB Offshore Investment Fund Limited.
Name: _____
Address: _____
Postcode: _____ Telephone: _____ GW 21/4/98

*These awards have been won by TSB Fund Managers (Channel Islands) Limited who are the Managers of TSB Offshore Investment Fund Limited. These Awards refer to the management of the underlying share classes over 3 and 5 years. The TSB Managed Portfolios are invested in the appropriate nine share classes of TSB Offshore Investment Fund Limited.



This advertisement has been issued by TSB Fund Managers (Channel Islands) Limited and TSB Unit Trust Managers (Channel Islands) Limited. It has been approved by TSB Investment Services Limited which is regulated by the Personal Investment Authority and is part of the TSB Marketing Group. TSB Offshore Centre is the offshore sales and marketing group for TSB Bank Channel Islands Limited and TSB Fund Managers (Channel Islands) Limited.

The Guardian

The Week in Britain James Lewis

Riot report backs police but leaves race relations strained

AN INQUIRY by the independent Police Complaints Authority into a two-day riot, which sparked a £1 million trail of damage in the Manningham area of Bradford last year, cleared the police of any misbehaviour or indiscipline. But the verdict was greeted with disappointment and some anger by young Asian groups in the area, and the Asian family at the centre of the brawl which led to the riot is to take civil proceedings against some officers.

Bradford, and neighbouring West Yorkshire towns, have a long history of harmonious race relations, and the violence, which started with unsubstantiated rumours of police heavy-handedness, worried both the indigenous population and the older members of the Asian community. Following the inquiry report, police and community leaders promised a "renewed commitment to building relationships".

There is, however, a serious drug problem in the area, which will continue to warrant a high level of policing. And there are associated problems of prostitution, affronting the principles of the older Muslim community, and high levels of unemployment among young Asians. Graffiti in support of Hamas, the Palestinian/Islamist group, has appeared in Bradford since the troubles, and there are dark threats about "worse to come" in the wake of the findings.

In a similar, but much smaller, outbreak of violence in Birmingham last week, more than 200 youths from a largely Asian community stoned buses and cars, looted shops and offices, and threw petrol bombs at police. The disturbances were sparked by a penalty notice for illegal parking.

But there were, once again, complaints of heavy-handed policing, frustration over crime, and disillusion caused by unemployment.

THE ACTIVITIES of an attempted extortionist, who sent 25 explosive devices with demands for money from Barclays Bank, were kept secret for 18 months by police who thought they could negotiate better without publicity. But the story broke when the extortionist, who uses the code-name Mardi Gras, appeared to lose patience and wrote to a newspaper issuing a seven-day ultimatum.

Many of the devices failed to ex-

plode, but one employee was slightly injured during the 16-month campaign. Although Mardi Gras claimed to be acting for "a small group of Barclays Bank victims", police thought it was a man acting alone.

The type of bomb and the vocabulary of his letters suggest that he has served at one time in one of the armed forces.

The union representing bank staff complained that Barclays had put workers' lives at risk by not informing them of the bomber's campaign.

THE Government accepted a proposal by the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Taylor, that judges should, in passing sentence, be allowed to take account of the trauma suffered by crime victims. This is a radical departure for the British criminal justice system, which has allowed the victim's suffering to affect the sentence only in some offences, such as rape.

In the United States, victims of crime appear in court to tell the judge how the crime has affected their lives before sentence is passed. But Lord Taylor believes this goes too far, partly because it would expose the victim to hostile cross-examination. He suggests, instead, that a police assessment of a crime's impact on its victim should be put before the judge as part of the prosecution's case.

POLICE in Greater Manchester are investigating the death of an 80-year-old cancer patient, who was given an overdose of morphine by her son. He said he did it to put her out of her misery.

Derek Rowbottom, aged 44, said his mother, Alice, was unable to eat, drink or move without crying out in pain and he was "angry that doctors seemed unable to treat her, and unwilling to let her rest in peace". He noticed a booster button on her diamorphine pump, and pressed it until the syringe was empty. When nurses replaced it, he did the same again. A nurse spotted him doing it, and a coroner was called when Mrs Rowbottom died the next day.

Mr Rowbottom said he hoped the publicity surrounding the case would help lead to a change in the law to end the suffering of terminally-ill patients. "If the law prevents you from helping someone that you dearly love to rest in peace, it just wants changing," he said.

SENIOR Labour officials moved quickly at the weekend to silence Clare Short, the shadow transport secretary, when she announced: "I think in a fair tax system people like me would pay a bit more tax."

Her remarks went directly against Tony Blair's efforts to present Labour as a party of low taxation. In a clear sign of their waning confidence in Ms Short, party officials cancelled all media interviews when she continued to answer questions on the issue.

She in turn was critical of the way her comments had been seized upon by the media: "It's like a conspiracy to stop politicians talking honestly, so you get robots who just clone what they are told to say out of press releases."



Feet first... The stalling line of Hadrian's Wall near Housesteads Roman fort is suffering from too many tramping feet. Designed to cope with a limited number of legionaries' boots, the wall has collapsed in places. "It is a lovely place but the wall has many other fascinating stretches," said Jane Branton of the Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership

EU beef export ban remains

Guardian Reporters

THE European Union last week firmly resisted Government attempts to lift the blanket ban on British beef products, provoking calls from infuriated Conservative MPs for legal action against Brussels.

Hope that the EU's veterinary officials would at least support a relaxation of the export restrictions were dashed when the European Commission made it clear there was insufficient support for the move.

Britain has been anxiously pressing for gelatine to be taken off the list of products which Britain can no longer export.

Last week a committee of EU scientific experts agreed that gelatine and tallow made from cows are safe provided that they have been treated at high temperatures.

A British official sought to put a brave face on the developments. He said that although the Government was disappointed, it was not surprised. "This is the sort of result we expected. We obviously have some way to go for enough member states to feel that they can support a change to the ban," he said.

EU officials predicted it would be weeks, if not months, before the prohibition ended.

Although many ministers have spoken of showing "solidarity" with Britain, privately officials from other EU countries are seething about the Government's handling of the BSE crisis. The Government has also been criticised for not working closely enough with its EU partners and the commission.

An admission by the European Agriculture Commissioner, Franz Fischler, that he believed British beef was safe was welcomed by the Government as vindication of its view that the worldwide export ban was not justified.

But farmers and many MPs were astonished and angry at the continuing ban in the face of Mr Fischler's comments that there was no public health risk despite mad cow disease.

"I wouldn't hesitate to eat beef in England. I see no medical reason not to," he said.

Sir Michael Spicer, a leading Tory Eurosceptic, claimed: "I think it is now clear that the ban, and the Commission reaction to the British beef crisis, has been largely political

and not based on health questions.

"This is a political move on the part of other European countries who have competitive interests and are out to protect their industry against a very successful British beef industry," he said.

Meanwhile, the fraud unit of the EU agriculture directorate has begun an investigation into allegations that rules imposed by the EU to prevent the spread of BSE and other animal diseases to the Continent have been routinely ignored by exporters with the knowledge of the Ministry of Agriculture.

Thousands of live calves and millions of sheep have been exported illegally every year without the disinfection procedures and veterinary checks which the EU believed were being carried out.

● The families of eight people aged between 20 and 34 who died from CJD after taking a human growth hormone as children are taking the Government to the High Court.

"They accuse the Government of negligence in not taking account of the risk of CJD in manufacturing the hormone, which was used between 1959 and 1985 to boost the stature of short children.

Manchester begs for rain as joke wears thin

THE WORLD laughed when North West Water announced in February that Manchester, a byword for dampness, had become one of the driest cities in Europe, writes David Ward.

But the crisis continues. "This is the severest drought in living memory," Harry Croft, North West Water's operations director, said. The weather experts claimed it was the worst in 200 years.

In 10 months of drought, Manchester had less rain than Madrid, Rome or Athens. While Malta had endured almost 1 1/2 times its average rainfall, Manchester had only half the rain it usually enjoyed.

There has been next to no rain

so far in April and the region now needs twice its average rainfall if water supplies are to return to normal.

Hosepipe bans remain in force and owners of swimming pools and extravagant sprinklers have been asked to register with the water company in a move that could lead to the installation of meters.

Reservoirs are two-thirds full on average — but the figure conceals wide variations. Those in the traditionally soggy Lake District are 77 per cent full (99 per cent this time last year). But the reservoirs on the western flanks of the Pennines are only 44 per cent full — the Longdendale series above

Glossop is barely half full, and the figure for Oldham is a frightening 19 per cent. (It slumped to 6 per cent in February.)

The company accepts that it loses about 35 per cent of its water through leaks and has just introduced a leak-line freephone number on which the public can report leaks.

Meanwhile, the word "sorry" is kicking off Yorkshire Water's preparations for this summer's expected drought in a blitz of newspaper, radio and TV advertisements launched.

Company director Tracey Flanders precedes her public appeal for prudence with a direct apology for the problems and confusion of last year.

Single currency boost for Chancellor

John Palmer in Verona and Ian Traynor in Bonn

BRTAIN'S European Union partners have indicated they will not exclude Britain from a single European currency in 1999, even if it stays out of a revamped European exchange rate mechanism.

A strict reading of the Maastricht treaty implies Britain must be an ERM member for two years before taking part in monetary union.

Britain left the ERM in 1992. But the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, who supports membership of a single currency, said after EU finance ministers met at the weekend: "It would be quite absurd to exclude a

country which satisfied convergence criteria and exchange rate stability on the basis that it hadn't had a formal two years' membership of an ERM."

He added that ministers had indicated that the two-year rule will not be invoked where a country has proved it has run a stable currency exchange rate.

But the Government came under renewed pressure to accept tough new disciplines to guarantee Britain's economic convergence with the rest of the EU, even if it stays outside both the single European currency and a new ERM.

European finance ministers and central bank governors held two

days of detailed discussions in Verona about how the pound might be linked with the euro — the future single currency — even if it is not part of either monetary union or the ERM.

Mr Clarke was told by several ministers that the pound should rejoin the ERM in the interests of monetary stability in Britain and throughout Europe after the single currency is launched in 1999. Britain and Italy were ejected from the ERM in 1992 and the Government is loath to rejoin.

Proponents of a new ERM want to stop those outside from undermining the system through making national devaluations.

The meeting was told that there should in future be more detailed scrutiny of national economic and monetary policies for all members.

Hans Tietmeyer, chief of Germany's powerful Bundesbank, has made it clear that he wants the governor of a future European central bank to have powers not only over those joining a single currency but also over those EU currencies left outside, to avert the risk of "competitive devaluation". On no account, however, do the Germans want a European central bank to intervene to defend EU currencies outside EMU against market onslaughts.

● Billionaire financier Sir James Goldsmith last week pledged to

Abortions rise after Pill scare

Chris Mihill and Sue Quinn

THE NUMBER of abortions rose by nearly 10 per cent following last year's scare over the safety of certain contraceptive pills, according to the British Pregnancy Advisory Service.

The increase is believed to have been the result of women being driven to stop taking oral contraceptives out of fear for their health.

The BPAS said that among its 28 clinics there had been an extra 823 abortions over the number normally expected in the three-month period from December last year to February this year.

The charity, which performs almost 18 per cent of legal abortions in England and Wales, says the majority of the 9.5 per cent increase can be attributed to the Pill scare last October, when the Government said seven of the most popular brands could cause an increased risk of blood clots.

The BPAS survey was carried out soon after the warning that 1.5 million women taking the "third generation" Pill were twice as likely to suffer from deep vein thrombosis as those on other types of oral contraceptives.

Despite women being advised to continue with their Pill until they had seen a doctor, the BPAS found that 41 per cent of users stopped immediately and 61 per cent did not finish their course.

The findings have prompted renewed criticism of the Government's handling of the Pill scare. In its report the BPAS says information should have been available to women as the main emphasis of the announcement. Attention could have been focused on the risks associated with unwanted pregnancies, which are far greater than the risks from thrombosis associated with the types of Pill involved.

"There seems to have been a lost opportunity in this announcement," a BPAS spokeswoman said. "Women made immediate decisions and as a result there is an increase in unplanned pregnancies. With more comprehensive information and a more educated means of communication, women are better prepared to make an informed decision.

"Perhaps this would have ensured that women were more able to determine the overall risk factors against benefits, and take less immediate and drastic action such as stopping a means of contraception."

The flexible offshore HICA

Our new HICA pays standing orders, while other accounts are just standing still.

Regular payments (be them monthly, annually or whenever) are certainly not a problem with the new flexible HICA from Bristol & West International in Guernsey.

We've combined excellent rates of interest with the ease and convenience of a Sterling cheque book, coupled with the ability to make both direct debit and standing order payments.

To find out more about the flexible approach to offshore savings and payment management, simply complete the coupon and send it to: Donald Tew, Bristol & West International, PO Box 611, High Street, St. Peter Port, Guernsey, Channel Islands, GY1 4NY, or contact our Principal Office for more details. Telephone Guernsey (44) 01481 720609 or fax (44) 01481 711658.

I/We would like to open a flexible High Interest Cheque Account for £ (state £5,000). Cheques should be made payable to Bristol & West International Ltd. Please write your name and address clearly on the reverse of the cheque.

Please tick box for details on the range of savings accounts and services available from Bristol & West International.

NAME (MR/MRS/MISS/MS) _____
 ADDRESS _____

 PORTCODE _____ TELEPHONE _____
 NATIONALITY _____ DATE OF BIRTH _____

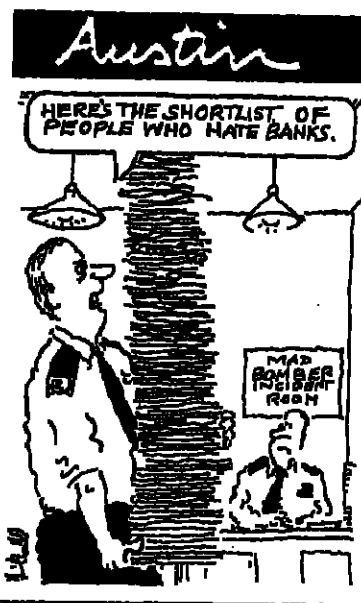
HOW20496

BRISTOL & WEST INTERNATIONAL

BRISTOL & WEST INTERNATIONAL LTD. IS A WHOLLY OWNED SUBSIDIARY OF BRISTOL & WEST BUILDINGS SOCIETY WHICH IS CHIEFLY BY MEMBERS OF THE BUILDING SOCIETY'S APT. THE TO ENFORCE ITS BUSINESS. LIMITS IN SO FAR AS IT IS UNABLE TO ENFORCE THEM OUT OF ITS OWN ASSETS. DEPOSITORS TRADE WITH OFFICE OF BRISTOL & WEST INTERNATIONAL LTD. IN GUERNSEY AND NOT COVERED BY THE DEPOSIT PROTECTION SCHEME UNDER THE BANKING ACT 1987.

Read the published list of banks and the Principal Office for Bristol & West International Ltd. at PO Box 611, High Street, St. Peter Port, Guernsey, Channel Islands, GY1 4NY. Tel 01481 720609. Fax 01481 711658. Funds will only be accepted if the principal office is in Guernsey. The rate of interest will be the maximum rate for the period of the deposit. Interest is calculated on the basis of the actual number of days in the month. The rate of interest will be the maximum rate for the period of the deposit. Interest is calculated on the basis of the actual number of days in the month. The rate of interest will be the maximum rate for the period of the deposit. Interest is calculated on the basis of the actual number of days in the month.

The Sun



Prosecutor urges Bridgewater rethink

Paul Foot and Angella Johnson

THE lawyer who prosecuted the four men convicted in 1979 of the murder of newspaper boy Carl Bridgewater has written to the Home Secretary insisting the case should be reopened.

Michael Chance expressed concern to Michael Howard over a "disturbing error" in the conduct of the prosecution — the non-disclosure at the trial of two unidentified fingerprints on the frame of the murdered boy's bicycle.

Mr Chance, who was responsible for the prosecution of James Robinson, Patrick Molloy and the cousins

Vincent and Michael Hickey at their trial at Stafford in 1979, wrote to the Home Secretary on December 14 last year, after Mr Howard announced that he was "not minded" to send the case back to the Court of Appeal.

He wrote: "Carl Bridgewater disturbed burglars whilst delivering a newspaper at Yew Tree Farm. They shot him before making good their escape. The boy most probably left his bicycle by the farmhouse door whilst delivering the paper. The cycle was subsequently recovered from a nearby pigsty. The likelihood is that one of those involved in the burglary and the murder removed it from his path whilst making off."

"The fingerprints were found on the cycle frame. There was initial optimism the fingerprints would lead to the identification of the offenders. In the event, the fingerprints differ from those of all four convicted men."

Though the bicycle featured prominently in the case — it was even deposited in the jury room — the unidentified prints on it were not disclosed to the defence at the trial or at the appeal in 1988.

In a reply on January 9, Tim Kirkhope, junior Home Office minister, sought to reassure Mr Chance. There were, he said, "no other unidentified fingerprints found at the farm. This gives good grounds

for believing that the intruders wore gloves. There was no reason to connect marks found on Carl's bike with the crime."

Meanwhile, a second juror from the trial is backing the campaign to get them freed.

Lucinda Graham, who was 19 at the time of the trial, said she had doubts about the case from the start.

"We couldn't give an 8-4 or a 10-2 — it had to be unanimous. I believe they're innocent. I want to help in some small way if I can."

In 1994 Tim O'Malley, the jury foreman, was the first juror to state publicly that he believed the men to be innocent.

In Brief

DOCTORS in Scotland who withdraw treatment from permanently vegetative patients with the court's permission will not face prosecution for killing them, the Lord Advocate said. Meanwhile, a musician who came out last month from two years in an apparent permanent vegetative state to tell detectives he had been attacked on a train, has admitted his account was untrue.

LISA LEESON, wife of the disgraced former Barclays trader Nick Leeson, has landed a job as a flight attendant with Richard Branson's Virgin Atlantic airline.

THE Government's plans to legislate to enforce smoking controls in buildings open to the public have been abandoned, even though ministers agreed a voluntary approach has failed.

BRTAIN'S first surrogate grandmother, Edith Jones, aged 51, has been implanted with two embryos grown from eggs from her daughter and fertilised by sperm from her son-in-law.

POLICE said that Loyalist paramilitaries masterminded Northern Ireland's biggest armed robbery, which netted about £1 million, although members of the armed gang claimed to be from the IRA.

GRADUATES are starting their working lives with ever bigger debts, according to a Barclays Bank survey, which found a rise of 31 per cent on 1994's average £2,230 graduate debt.

REPORTS to the police of racial attacks and intimidation are rising at a rate of 8 per cent a year, according to Home Office figures.

CUNARD officials met Egyptian authorities to sort out a £15 million compensation claim for damage to a coral reef in the Red Sea, which Egypt claims was caused by the Royal Viking Sun cruise liner when it ran aground on April 6.

AJOURNALIST refused to comply with a Department of Trade and Industry demand to return a leaked copy of a confidential report from the Monopolies and Mergers Commission.

CHARLES VINCENT, a City dealer who earned £15 million a year, has resigned from the metals trading company he founded, for "lifestyle reasons".

SZYMON SERAFINOWICZ, aged 86, who moved to England in 1947, became the first person in Britain to face trial on war crimes charges when he was committed at the Old Bailey on three counts of murdering an unknown Jew in Belarus while it was under Nazi occupation in 1941-42.

Young becoming 'dunces of Europe'

John Carvel

BBRITISH youngsters are on the way to becoming the dunces of Europe, local authority leaders warned last week after hearing evidence from the careers service that the proportion of 16-year-olds dropping out of education rose last year for the first time in recent records.

A survey of 600,000 young people ending compulsory education after passing their sixteenth birthdays showed that only 67.8 per cent stayed on full-time courses at school or college, compared with 68.1 per cent in 1994.

This is the first drop since the

careers service started collecting comprehensive data seven years ago, raising doubts that the Government's targets for producing a more qualified workforce by 2000 can be achieved.

The percentage staying on in any form of education — including part-time courses, youth training programmes and employment — also fell for the first time, from 83 per cent to 81 per cent.

"There is some evidence... that a small but growing number of young people are either opting out of the recognised education, training and employment market, or at least are deferring entry to it," said the report by the UK Heads of

Careers Services, published by the local authority associations.

Graham Lane, education chairman of the Association of Metropolitan Authorities, said the figures were the most disturbing educational indicators for many years.

"They show we are heading to become the dunces of Europe. Britain has one of the poorest records in the EU for young people staying in education after 16 and going on to gain appropriate qualifications. As long as the staying-on rates were rising, we could at least claim to be making some improvements, but now even that glimmer of hope has been extinguished."

Young people were badly served

by recent changes in post-16 education which led to unhealthy competition between sixth forms and "privatised" colleges of further education. Sir Ron Dearing's recent reform proposals did not go far enough to encourage staying on by integrating academic and vocational qualifications, he said.

The survey showed big regional variations in the drop-out rate. In northern England 57 per cent continued in education, 19 per cent had youth training, 6 per cent got a job, 10 per cent were unemployed and 8 per cent were untraceable. In south-east England 75 per cent continued in education, 5.5 per cent had youth training, 8 per cent had a job, 5 per

cent were unemployed and 6.5 per cent were untraceable. The lowest staying-on rate was 46 per cent in Manchester, which compared with 85 per cent who stayed in education in the London boroughs of Barnet and Harrow.

The survey found:
 □ a decline in the percentage of young people entering youth training;
 □ an increase in the percentage unemployed or not available for work;
 □ an increase in numbers of 16-year-olds, which tended to mask the reduction in the percentage staying in education;
 □ greater competition between colleges and schools with "increasingly aggressive marketing techniques" being used to attract students.

School Leavers Destinations 1995: ACC Publications, £5

Pay for probation officers to be 'performance-related'

Alan Travis

PROBATION officers are to be put on performance-related pay linked to whether their criminal "clients" are convicted again, under proposals from Michael Howard, the Home Secretary.

The scheme linking part of their pay to whether the criminals they supervise go straight is expected to come into force this summer. It will mean that for some probation officers crime won't pay.

Under the scheme, probation officers supervising offenders who breach their court orders or get recalled to prison while they are on licence can expect only small pay rises or no increase at all.

Labour's home affairs spokesman, Alan Michael, said he was alarmed by the idea: "The supervision of serious offenders is too serious to be left to a Home Secretary who creates disaster out of everything he touches," he said.

The Home Office is to put forward the idea in this year's pay negotiations. An unpublished Home Office document outlining the scheme follows repeated complaints by ministers that community penalties supervised by the service need to be more demanding.

It says economies must be sought in all aspects of the service's operation. "It remains government policy that pay levels in the public sector should be linked to achievement so that those who contribute the most

to the success of an organisation receive a greater share of the money available, while those who contribute less, get less."

It makes it clear that Mr Howard has expressed clear backing for the scheme.

Among the indicators to determine individual pay are: reconviction rates for those subject to community service orders; the numbers of community orders completed without breach or further re-offending; the number of licences completed without breach leading to recall to prison; and the number of welfare reports completed within 10 days.

Probation officers have greeted the plan with scepticism. Harry Fletcher, assistant general secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers, said: "This will be impossible to administer... It will be impractical and unworkable. It will outrage staff."

"It will encourage probation staff to recommend for supervision under community orders only those offenders who will not re-offend. Those who have been to prison will be less likely to be recommended by the probation service for a community service order in case they offend again."

The performance-related pay plan is linked to a wider package of reforms of community sentences being put forward by Mr Howard, including the expansion of electronic tagging trials.



Goodbye to all that... A prisoner takes out overnight slop buckets for the last time in Arnsley prison in Leeds last week. Individual cells now have either a toilet and washbasin, or electronic unlocking which allows inmates to leave their cells at night under computer-controlled conditions

Ecstasy 'as safe as aspirin'

Vivek Chaudhary

DOCTORS and drugs relief agencies rallied last week to the defence of a senior Scottish social worker who claimed that Ecstasy was "relatively safe," and that there was more chance of dying from taking an aspirin.

Mary Hartnoll, Scotland's most senior social worker, made her comments in a private memorandum to John Anderson, Glasgow city council's chief executive.

She was responding to the Glasgow Licensing Board's public campaign against drug taking in bars and clubs across the city and its hard-line approach which has ruled out the setting up of "chill-out" areas on the grounds that this could be seen to condone drug taking.

Ms Hartnoll said the "enforcement" approach to drug misuse in clubs was legitimate, but would not prevent drug misuse on its own.

She writes in the memo: "The irony is that Ecstasy, for example, is a relatively safe drug — risk of death has been calculated as one in

6.8million (the risk of dying from an ordinary dose of aspirin is very much greater) — and young people tend to know this. For every highly publicised death, those who use the drug regularly balance their experience of their own, and friends' experience of frequent, safe and enjoyable usage. The 'fear' message conveys very little effect in their circumstances."

John Marks, a consultant psychiatrist, claimed Ms Hartnoll's comments were "responsible, intelligent, and above all, true in contrast to all the other things that are said."

"There were no deaths from Ecstasy when it was legally available. The evidence indicates there are no deaths from ecstasy when there are legal, pure supplies available and there is sensible health care advice to go along with it."

Ms Hartnoll's comments, however, were branded "totally irresponsible" by the father of teenager Leah Betts, who died last year after taking an Ecstasy tablet. Paul Betts said: "To come from such a prominent person, it's absolutely stupid."

Labour woos executives into schools

John Carvel and Donald MacLeod

AN EASY route for middle-aged executives to switch into a second career in teaching was promised last week by David Blunkett, the shadow education secretary, as part of a 10-point Labour programme for raising the status of the profession.

"We will support mature students who wish to enter teaching... with an emphasis on those who have been in industry, commerce, finance and the media," he told the National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers conference in Glasgow.

Labour sources said the aim was to inject experience of the wider world into the classroom by bringing in entrants in their late 40s and 50s who may be considering early retirement, but who could give 10 or 15 years of service to teaching.

But headteachers responded that Labour's plans for a "dad's army" of middle-aged executives would do little to solve a looming shortage in the classroom.

A row also erupted over the cost of proposals from David Blunkett, the shadow education secretary, to give staff a term's sabbatical leave after 15 years' service, as part of a 10-point programme to raise the status of the profession.

The conference gave Mr Blunkett's ideas a warm reception. But he was attacked by James Palce, the education minister, who said the scheme would cost £5 million if the estimated 240,000 teachers with 15 years' experience took advantage of it. "Is this money to come from school budgets or is this another example of Labour not thinking things through?"

Sabbatical leave of between a term and a year to allow teachers to refresh their knowledge or work in industry would have to be phased in and could be met from existing training funds, Mr Blunkett said. Labour said part of the cost would be met from business sponsorship.

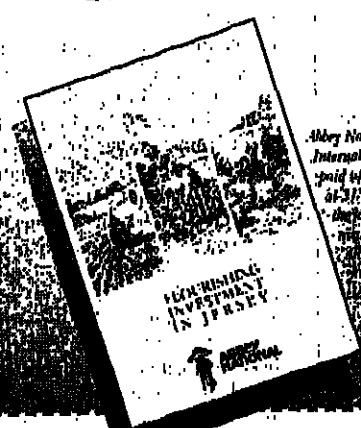
John Dunford, president of the Secondary Heads' Association, said it would be better to invest in young people with a full teaching career before them. "This will not solve the huge teacher shortage that is coming in the next two or three years. We have to create a teaching force that encourages the best young graduates to come into teaching."



Offshore Investment - bears fruit with Abbey National.



The habit of a lifetime



With Abbey National in Jersey, your money is safe, secure and easy to get at. What's more, it is virtually certain to thrive and flourish in the island's fertile financial climate.

No matter where you live or work, you can make the most of your savings by opening a high rate offshore deposit account in a choice of currencies.

We currently offer five such accounts:

• Sterling - gives you instant access to your money with five tiers of interest rates.

• Sterling - subject to 90 days' notice but offers you a higher rate of interest.

• Sterling - your capital is committed for one year with three tiers of even higher interest rates; one penalty-free withdrawal is permitted.

• US Dollars - subject to 90 days' notice.

• Deutschmarks - subject to 90 days' notice.

• Swiss Francs - subject to 90 days' notice.

• Japanese Yen - subject to 90 days' notice.

• Euro - subject to 90 days' notice.

• Pound Sterling - subject to 90 days' notice.

• Canadian Dollars - subject to 90 days' notice.

• Australian Dollars - subject to 90 days' notice.

• New Zealand Dollars - subject to 90 days' notice.

• Hong Kong Dollars - subject to 90 days' notice.

• Singapore Dollars - subject to 90 days' notice.

• South African Rand - subject to 90 days' notice.

• South Korean Won - subject to 90 days' notice.

• Thai Baht - subject to 90 days' notice.

• Indian Rupee - subject to 90 days' notice.

To: Julie O'Hanlon, Marketing Assistant, Abbey National Treasury International Limited, PO Box 548, Jersey JE4 8XC, Channel Islands.
 Fax: UK: 01834 888050 International: +44 1594 886050.

Name (Mr/Mrs/Miss/Ms) _____
 Address _____
 Telephone _____ Fax _____ GWAS

The Guardian
 10 UK NEWS
 April 21 1998

Grapes of Wrath have bitter taste

HAVE they all been struck dumb? For five days as Israel intensified its assault on Lebanon the only sound in the White House, the UN Secretary-General's office and Downing Street has been the diplomatic shuffling of awkward feet. Keeping quiet may indeed be preferable to Monday's crude apology for Israel delivered by the British Defence Secretary, Michael Portillo (from which the Foreign Office appears, later, to have muttered its dissent). International leaders have a duty to express themselves on the issues of principle raised by events of this devastating scale. Their silence is as shameful as Israel's own savage and unwise response to Hizbullah's provocation.

This is not, unfortunately, the first time that Israel has launched an overkill operation against the people of Lebanon. The real target is always elsewhere — against Damascus for its toleration of Hizbullah or, on this occasion, to disarm rightwing Likud opposition in the run-up to the Israeli elections. On the last occasion, in July 1993, Yitzhak Rabin vowed to make southern Lebanon "uninhabitable" and to silence Hizbullah once and for all. Then as now, civilians were killed, several hundred thousand fled in miserable panic — and Hizbullah lived to launch its not very effective rockets another year. But there was one important difference: some Western leaders and governments did actually open their mouths. Britain said then that Israel's "deliberate attempt to displace a large part of the civilian population [of Lebanon] cannot be justified". (Monday's belated expression of "concern" from the Foreign Office at the "humanitarian problems" of the refugees is much weaker and carefully avoids criticising Israel.) Last time too, the Clinton administration blamed Israel in the same breath as Hizbullah, saying that "military activities directed against all civilians should stop". And Boutros Boutros-Ghali said that it was "deplorable" for any government to adopt policies that would lead to more displaced persons. If all this could be said three years ago, why not now?

Israel's action is to be condemned on two clear grounds of principle. First, it goes far beyond the internationally recognised principle of "proportionate response". The right to self-defence must be exercised with reasonable restraint. Quite apart from the human suffering involved, the scale of Israel's "reprisal" against Lebanon is so disproportionate as to constitute aggression in its own right. Second, the action breaches international agreements on the protection of civilian populations in time of war. (It is mere sophistry to say this is not a war.) No rational person could regard 400,000 south Lebanese as collectively responsible for the activities of some 500 Hizbullah activists in a few areas, most of them close to the Israeli border. Indeed Israel itself does not pretend that they are: Shimon Peres and his colleagues are quite open about seeking to punish the Lebanese government by terrorising its people. The whole of Lebanon south of the Litani river has been declared a free-fire zone where, according to the Israeli army, "anyone remaining is solely responsible for endangering his life". This again is in express violation of the Geneva conventions.

Mr Peres's political difficulties in the wake of the Hamas bombings have been compounded by Hizbullah. Some response was to be expected but this protracted campaign has an air of desperation. Naming it Operation Grapes of Wrath evokes the verses in Deuteronomy which vow that "their day of disaster is near". Hizbullah will survive: it is the confidence needed for the peace process that has been dealt another disastrous blow.

Hanging on by a single vote

IN spite of noises off, it is hard to remember a more steadily lopsided political situation than that now in Britain. Labour's lead in the polls barely changes from month to month. The Staffordshire byelection confirms the conclusion. May's local elections are likely to repeat it. The financial and diplomatic worlds stand by for a change of government, while the civil service prepares itself too. Everyone treats Tony Blair as Prime Minister-presumptive. Britain is ready for a general election and a Labour government.

But Britain is not going to get either for at least a year, not without something very unexpected. As MPs return to Westminster, the atmosphere may appear tense, thanks to that one-vote majority. But time and even the parliamentary arithmetic nevertheless remain on the Conservatives' side. Even if they lost a vote on rail privatisation this week (unlikely because of Unionist support) or on divorce next week (unlikely because of compromises), they would probably survive a confidence motion. After July, Parliament will not sit before October. After October, everything will give way to the Budget and, since nobody wants a winter election, the options are actually fairly limited.

Only three things are likely to change that — further byelection losses, a defeat on a confidence vote, or a decision by John Major to go early — and each of them is only a remote possibility. Byelection losses require byelections, and there are none in the offing. For the Government to lose a confidence vote, it must lose the support both of some backbenchers and of the Ulster Unionists. Weekend stories that two Conservative MPs are preparing to provide the first of these changes should be treated with great caution, since they contain no supporting evidence that the turkeys in question have decided to vote for Christmas. In any case, Ulster votes could probably be relied upon in the end.

That leaves the gambler's throw of an early election called by Mr Major himself. For that to happen, the Conservatives would have to feel confident that the polls were surging strongly their way and that it would not last into spring 1997. But where is the evidence for that? Not in Staffordshire South-East and probably not in the local elections either. Perhaps a few more wobbly suggestions about increased taxes on middle income Britain from shadow ministers — following Clare Short's on Sunday — might stimulate the surge. But, here again, there is no evidence yet that it would. Mr Major has shown that he can be a gambler, but he has never gambled without calculating the odds first.

The simple reality is that Britain is paying the price for its five-year electoral cycle. No democratic country in the Western world has to wait as long between elections, and perhaps that's a British opt-out that should be abandoned. But when a British government goes off the rails early in a parliament — as the Major government did over Europe and the exchange rate within six months of its re-election in 1992 — and still retains its majority, the probability is of a long wait. Everything should be done to hasten the date of the general election, but it still looks like 1997, even now.

Lesson from the Norman conqueror

REG NORMAN had never won the US Masters golf championship, but this year he led it from the start. At the end of day one, he was two strokes up on the field. By the second evening his lead was four. After day three he was six strokes clear of his rivals. Heading out on to the course for the last time on Sunday, Norman looked a cert to win.

Then it began to fall apart. Agonisingly, Norman's lead flaked away at every hole. An error followed error, the certainty of a Norman victory dissolved. On hole 66 of the 72-hole tournament, Nick Faldo at last overtook him, playing the way that has brought him so much success so often. At the end, the man who had seemed the certain winner finished five shots behind. It was one of the most shattering collapses in recent sporting history.

Did Tony Blair watch the coverage of the golf from Augusta? If so, he will have seen Norman acting out the Labour party's worst nightmare. Nothing is worse than to build and sustain a lead and then throw it away to your greatest rival when within sight of a famous victory. It is especially galling when over the years that rival has won almost as often as you have lost. For in the same way that Norman's squandered dominance embodied Labour's darkest fear, so Faldo's ice-cool discipline under pressure epitomised the Conservative party's one remaining winning fantasy.

Golf is a game for strong temperaments. The temptation, sitting at the top of the leader board, is to play safe, eliminate errors, hit sensible irons down the middle of the fairway and lay up your putts. But that means abandoning the daring that won you the lead in the first place. The golfer who combined Norman's flair and Faldo's cool would be unstoppable. And so would the politician.

Middle East's futile dialogue of death

Martin Woollacott

WHATEVER their mother tongue, the peoples of the Middle East are all fluent in the region's second language, that of violence. The messages they exchange are literally written in blood. They are almost always ineffective. And they have increasingly become messages addressed as much to one's own side as to the enemy. The stereotypical Israeli situation is one in which you kill people in order to send a message to another government that it should use violence against the people who are using violence against you.

You do this without real expectation that it will work but in order to prove to your own people that you are doing what you can. The typical Syrian situation is one in which you permit your proxies to kill people in order to send a message that life will continue to be painful for another government until it gives you a settlement on your terms, which, however, are less important in themselves than as a signal of toughness to your own people. The typical situation of what are called terrorist movements is that you kill people in order to prove to your own people, to the Israeli government, and to Arab governments, that you are a power to be reckoned with.

The use of force arises in part from the need to maintain a certain image and to convince potentially angry and cynical men and women that you are worthy of leading them. There was a time when politicians and soldiers, and the leaders of armed movements, genuinely thought that force could bring fairly easy solutions. If so, it is long past. Violence used in pursuit of clear objectives — smash the PLO, drive out the Jew, wake up the West to the Palestinian cause — was had enough. But what we see now is violence as an aid to political survival.

Even the Islamists may no longer believe in the attainability of their supposed ultimate aims. The splits within both Hamas and Hizbullah show that there are some who, at least tactically, believe in politics now rather than in protracted war. Of those speaking the language of violence in the Middle East, very few really believe that it will get them what they say they expect it to get. And they all have plenty of experience of violence getting them the opposite of what they wanted.

For Shimon Peres, this is a hard time. Twelve years ago, his first task as prime minister was to extract the Israeli army from Lebanon, where it was dangerously dug in after the previous Likud government's invasion went wrong. That invasion had been launched by Ariel Sharon, the embodiment of the idea that force could solve everything. Lebanon proved the reverse. The PLO survived. Lebanese Shi'ites were traumatised and politicised, replacing the PLO as a threat to Israel's northern towns. The attacks of poorly armed Shi'ites on the Israelis are said to have played a part in inspiring the intifada.

The chain of consequences still goes on. Now Israel has struck at Beirut and at other places in Lebanon. Threats coming from Ori Orr, the Israeli deputy defence minister, go beyond reprisals on Hizbullah to suggest that the destruction

of Lebanon's economy is not beyond consideration. The Lebanese, Or ominously suggests, may "have to consider if they want Lebanon to develop . . . or if investment in Lebanon will stop, and Lebanon will return to its plight of a few years ago". Mr Peres must be asking how many times he has been here before — making threats and at the same time fearing the consequences of having to carry them out.

His excuse, of course, is that he has to make war in order to make peace. A failure to act after Hizbullah fired rockets on northern Israel could have lost him next month's elections. If he loses, the chances for peace are dim indeed. The Likud party and its leader, Benjamin Netanyahu, offer policies that would push the region into limbo, combining a refusal to go forward with the Palestinians with an unwillingness to reinstate the occupation. The Labour government's reaction to the Hizbullah attacks, as to the Hamas suicide bombs before them, is that something must be seen to be done, and "something" in the Middle East usually involves high explosive.

But if Israel has its excuses, so have the other actors. To say that Syria should not have permitted the Hizbullah attacks is to overlook the tangled story of Syrian and Iranian patronage of that movement. Iran's intransigence relates to the efforts of the United States, and Israel, to isolate and punish that difficult country. Syria's intransigence, less marked, relates to Syrian fears that it will not get full restitution of its Golan territory, and that it may in the future also be isolated by the development of an Israel-Palestine-Jordan economic and political zone.

AS TO Hizbullah and Hamas, they are, in their own understanding, at war. They cannot be treated purely as pathology, or, as Netanyahu would have it, as evil forces supported by evil countries. There is a social basis to their existence, and a history to their aspirations that cannot be ignored.

It is insane to say that, at the end of the day, people have to talk. The divergence of objectives in the Middle East is such that regimes, and even peoples, see their very existence as at stake. But the change that made the Middle East after Oslo a different place was that, for the first time, Israelis and Palestinians recognised that neither was strong enough to achieve those objectives. Peace could grow out of a recognition of the impossible, that there could be no Greater Israel, nor an Arab Palestine from the Jordan to the Sea. Syria, too, might be brought to recognise that its ambitions to dominate in the central Middle East were unrealistic.

True, a kind of Greater Israel ambition could be said to survive in the vision of a Middle East which would be, in the words of Peres, "dominated by banks, not tanks, balloons not bullets". The Israeli economy, in other words, might succeed where the Israeli army failed.

But the Islamists are not truly to be cast as not yet, as complete villains, but as movements who have not yet understood the impossibility of winning outright victories. In the meantime, the knowledge that force is not the answer combines with a certain inevitability about its use.

The whole world's gone logo

Adam Sweeting on the global marketing monster and the remorseless advance of the admen

WHILE Claudio Abbado was making headlines by taking umbrage with Deutsche Grammophon for issuing a compilation of slow movements pruned from his recordings of Mahler symphonies, an infinitely more horrifying specimen of classical cross-promotional in soundbite form was readied for launch. It was *Appassionata*, subtitled *The Music From The Book By Jilly Cooper*. Jilly says the album is "a stunning recording of all the most beautiful music featured in the story".

She would know, of course. While researching her book (a novel about the life and loves of an orchestra), she narrated Peter And The Wolf at Bristol's Colston Hall, and toured Spain with the Royal Scottish National Orchestra, with a view to finding answers to important questions such as "could you bank a small woman on a glockenspiel?" But the music on her album has been chopped up into such nonsensical fragments that it makes the Abbado compilation look like a model of considered good taste. Even the determinedly frivolous listener might find *Appassionata* insubstantial. There is 1 minute and 51 seconds' worth of Beethoven's mighty *Missa Solemnis* and Prokofiev's *Peter And The Wolf* allotted a mere 49 seconds.

People involved in juggernaut marketing campaigns are not given to levity and facetiousness and they would go out of their way not to notice the ironic significance of the fact that the *Appassionata* album was released on April 1. All that matters is that the disc should slot into its allotted space in Bantam Press's promotional strategy for darling Jilly, conveniently carrying the baton between a BBC programme about Cooper and her ghostly coterie of green-welld sycophants in March, and the official publication of the novel this month. The specific content of the *Appassionata* album is irrelevant. It is only necessary for it to exist as a highly visible commercial artefact, identified as a "classical" product by the list of famous composers on the sleeve.

The multi-faceted marketing onslaught is scarcely a new idea, but the creeping notion that nothing exists in its own right or on its own merits, but is merely a facet of some grand plan devised for somebody else's benefit, is beginning to gnaw away at the foundations of what we once regarded as certainties. Movies are riddled with product-placement. TV programmes are sponsored by brewers, newspapers or soft drinks companies. And chart-topping records are spin-offs from jeans commercials.

On April 2 an issue of the *Daily Mirror* turned blue, because the paper had been bought for the day as a promotional tool of the Pepsi corporation. The *Mirror* revelled in its new role of advertorial sandwich board. "We have both turned blue," it raved. "For the *Mirror*, it is just for one day. For Pepsi, it is, for ever. From today, its cans are going to be blue. To mark this historic change, Pepsi has launched the greatest marketing campaign ever." By some bizarre mental process, the *Mirror* felt able to stress that this proved

that it was a paper "that makes rather than follows the news".

Inside, news (or whatever it is the *Mirror* usually prints) had turned to blue-rinsed promotional puffery. Page two was bannered BLUEMIN' AMAZING!, while page three boasted a snap of Claudia Schiffer looking coy in a bathrobe, and fondling a can of blue Pepsi. Claudia "becomes a lad's dream girl in one of the new Pepsi adverts", we learned, since Claudia joins Cindy Crawford and Andre Agassi in Pepsi's \$3 million TV campaign (Pepsi is spending \$300 million worldwide). On page 33, there were details of how to claim your free can of Pepsi at supermarkets.

Surely the *Mirror's* eagerness to mortgage itself to a multinational soft drinks corporation makes a mockery of any pretence at independent editorial thought or unbiased reporting? But this modest proposal falls flat on its face once we take into account the sorry saga of the Times and its sell-out to the computer software monolith, Microsoft, on August 24 last year, to assist in the massive global launch of Windows 95. The paper's price was reduced to zero as Microsoft paid for the paper's entire print run, reducing the Thunderer to the role of giveaway freesheet in Bill Gates's globe-devouring masterplan.

While the play made worldwide headlines for Microsoft, the Times, which once enjoyed an historic role as counsellor to prime ministers and conduit for scrupulous reporting, now clearly carries no greater moral authority than any of the advertisements within its pages.

THERE ARE areas of human endeavour where this kind of rampant image-mongering is accepted as the norm. Rock groups get sponsored by Pepsi or Budweiser. Tennis players are plastered in advertising logos, while footballers and basketball players all seem to work for Nike. Nobody has yet managed to invent a more spectacularly cash-guzzling sphere of activity than Formula 1 motor racing, and considering that each Formula 1 team is running its own miniaturised version of the space programme, constantly experimenting with new electronic systems, lightweight materials and aerodynamics, the necessity for dramatic financial support is obvious.

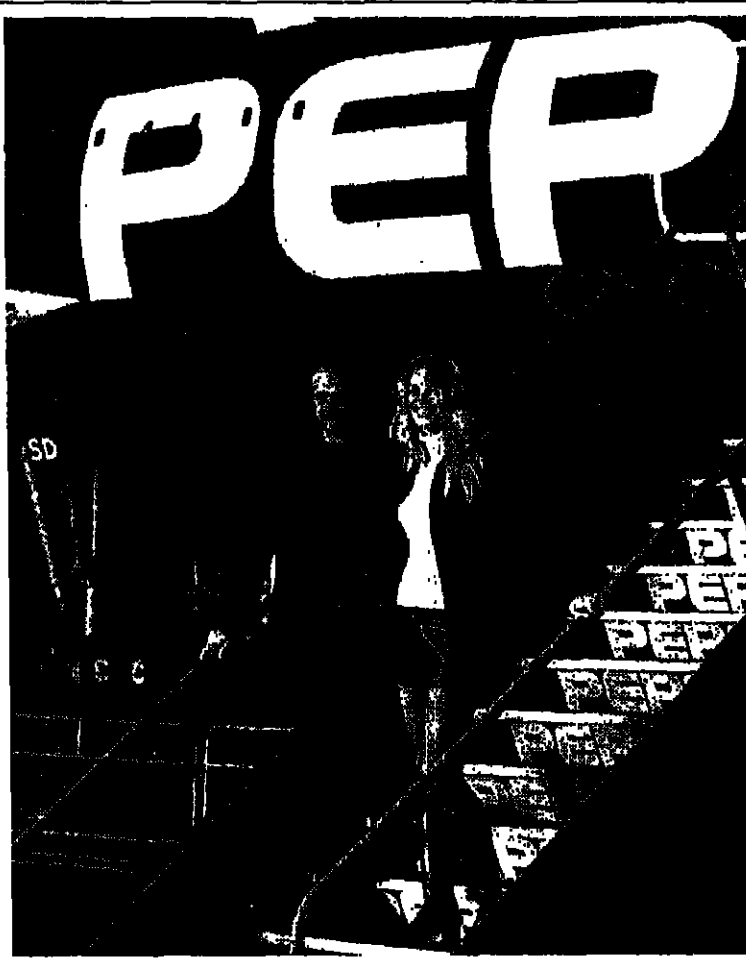
Even so, you might hope that there was still some tiny space for free will and moral choice, but don't bank on it. Shortly before the new Formula 1 season began, the Jordan team announced a spectacular new deal with Benson & Hedges, allegedly worth \$23 million this year alone. Suddenly Jordan's familiar green and white cars were re-sprayed a sickly B&H-style yellow.

Marlboro, Rothmans, Gitanes and Mild Seven are already big investors in F1, and by jumping on the megabuck sponsorship carousel, Jordan's prospects took an immediate leap forward. Yet only a year ago, team boss Eddie Jordan confided that he was proud of the fact that he was managing to run his team without major tobacco sponsorship. You can't blame the ebullient Irishman for wanting to attract the best personnel to his team and win races but the idea that Formula 1 will do anything for money, is not going to boost its appeal to those viewers who still cling to quaint, old-fashioned notions of ethics and sportmanship.

But maybe there aren't any viewers like that any more, so why worry? Even cricket, supposed repository of sporting values, has fallen into the clutches of globalised marketing. The recent World Cup was the setting for an unsightly squabble between Coke and Pepsi. Coca-Cola had paid \$3.7 million to be an official sponsor of the tournament, to which Pepsi riposted by signing up individual players and launching a barrage of TV commercials, in which "their" players were offered a Coke, but turned it down in favour of Pepsi. While drinks intervals were announced by airborne inflatable Coke bottles, Pepsi's clients conspicuously refused to drink the stuff.

The lacklustre England squad are sponsored by Tetley's brewery, but obviously it doesn't work. A multi-billion dollar deal with Nike, share options in a friendly privatised water company and a spin-off album featuring easy-listening snippets of patriotic music might be just what England needs to attract players of the right calibre into the game.

Feeling blue . . . Andre Agassi, Claudia Schiffer and Concorde feature in Pepsi's new campaign



Working abroad?



Future in Sterling



Finances in good hands

Equitable Life International understands that working abroad is never that certain. Yet when you want to make the most of your hard-earned money, you'll find some investment companies expect your plans to suit theirs. Our international investment products are different. You can save as much or as little* as you like for as long as it suits you, and you can make lump sum or regular contributions for secure, tax-free growth.

We have a range of plans for residents abroad, including options to invest in sterling or US dollars. You can build capital, boost your income and plan for the future with a British company that has been generating wealth for its clients since 1762.

Post or fax the coupon to find out more, and include your telephone number if you would like us to call you. *Subject to certain minima.

The Equitable Life

Founded in Great Britain in 1762

Part of: The Equitable Life, International Division, Albert House, South England, St Peter, Port, Guernsey, Channel Islands, GY1 1AW

Please send me information about The Equitable Life's international investment products.

Sterling US\$

Name (Mr/Mrs/Ms/Other) _____

Address _____

City _____ Country _____

Tel (Office) _____ Tel (Home) _____

Please call me at _____ (hours GMT)

OR FAX THE COUPON TO: (INTERNATIONAL CDD) +44 1481 712068

GWHCSB

Government set to sell off Railtrack

Phillip Thornton

THE UK government was accused this week of attempting to bribe the public after it unveiled a new package of measures designed to entice small investors to buy shares in Railtrack.

Ministers also revealed almost all of its ownership of the company — the linchpin of railway privatisation — is to be sold off rather than the 51 per cent analysts had expected.

The Labour party and opponents of rail privatisation condemned the use of sweeteners — which include a \$104 million dividend payment. The public will be offered shares at a discount to the price paid by institutional investors, on top of sweeteners unveiled last week to allay fears of investors worried by the political risk involved in the run-up to a general election.

Labour said it would mount an attempt to overturn the Government's slim one-vote majority and block the sale by marshalling support from Ulster Unionist MPs and Tories unhappy with rail policy in a Commons debate this week. And an alliance of unions and pressure groups opposed to privatisation said they were considering legal action over the dividend, which will be shared by new shareholders in October.

Investors will have to find a minimum of £380 (\$570) to buy into Railtrack Group plc.

Under the privatisation plan outlined on Tuesday:

□ The offer will be structured in two parts — a UK Public Offer aimed at ordinary investors and the International Offer targeted at big City investors at home and abroad;

□ The sale to the public starts on May 1 and shares will be priced at 190p with the minimum purchase of 200 shares;

□ The UK Public Offer will be at a discount to the price paid by institutional investors;

□ The price of the second instalment will be the same for both the public and the City.

The Transport Secretary, Sir George Young, said people had shown "significant interest" in the sell-off. "The offer details we have announced have been designed to be attractive to retail investors and I am confident of achieving another successful sale."

But the shadow transport secretary, Clare Short, condemned the country's rail network and drive more people on to the roads. "We believe that it's a grave breach of the national interest to sell off all our signalling, the tracks and stations in every town and city in the land at a very, very cheap price."



Now departing . . . the director of rail franchising, Roger Salmon, said he will stand down in October, two years early. PHOTO: MAX MUMBY

City analysts believe enthusiasm for the sell-off has been dampened by Labour opposition to the sale, although the party has stopped short of committing itself to buying back Railtrack if it forms the next government.

Ms Short said it would be "irresponsible" for Labour simply to threaten potential investors it would take back Railtrack. If it was sold, Labour had a "detailed programme for making sure we have a better railway", she said. — PA

Ex-BNFL man warns against 'car boot sale'

A FORMER senior executive in the nuclear power industry has likened the Government's \$3.8 billion privatisation of reactors to a car boot sale and advised investors to steer clear, writes Simon Davis and Paul Brown.

Harold Bolter, former company secretary of British Nuclear Fuels Ltd, says the Government will sell off eight reactors belonging to British Energy for less than the cost of building just one of them — the \$4 billion Sizewell B station in Suffolk.

"Anyone offered an eight-for-the-price-of-one bargain in a car boot sale would be looking for hidden snags — and potential investors in British Energy Ltd should exercise similar caution," Mr Bolter writes in a book, Inside Sellfield.

The price the Government expects to get for seven advanced gas-cooled reactors and Sizewell is an "indication of how desperate it is to get . . . the nuclear industry off its hands."

In a highly disparaging dismissal of the sale, planned for July, he adds: "This is not so much a case of the Government selling off the family silver as disposing of a canteen of old and unwanted cutlery for the best price it can obtain."

Meanwhile train drivers who work for the newly privatised Great Western company have been offered a 20 per cent rise if their union, Aslef, also agrees to do away with second drivers in cabs.

Blair offers little comfort to poor

Labour's new concern with community may result in an 'out of sight, out of mind' attitude to poverty in Britain, says Richard Thomas

POVERTY has vanished. Not in real life, of course — where the poor are stubbornly still with us — but from public debate. Even the term has become politically incorrect. Euphemisms abound: low income, disadvantaged, socially excluded, vulnerable. "Financially challenged" is surely just around the corner.

The poor have always been stigmatised by the right but now the left seems embarrassed by poverty, too. Don't mention the poor.

Thirty years ago, Brian Abel-Smith, who died earlier this month, "rediscovered" poverty through diligent social research and number-crunching. Another rediscovery is long overdue. For the politicians, if not one else.

The poverty lobby, of course, claims it has been highlighting the plight of the poor on a daily basis. Groups such as the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG), formed in the wake of Mr Abel-Smith's 1960s' research, produce reams of statistics. But no one believes them any more. Last week, the CPAG published a snapshot of poverty* showing that 18.5 million people — a third of the population — are poor, or on the margins of poverty. People are rightly sceptical of such claims. No one in their right mind thinks a third of Britons are poor.

The main reason the outpourings of the poverty industry do not ac-

cord with everyday experience is that the figures are based on a cross-section of people — some of whom may be "poor" only for a short time. Many of the people who are poor at one point in time may be back on their feet a few months on.

Paul Johnson, writing in this month's Oxford Review of Economic Policy, shows that half of the people living on or below half average income in one year are above the line 12 months later. Only one in three of those on income support spend more than two years out of work.

There is a world of difference between a middle-manager down on his luck for a few months and a family living on means-tested benefits for decades. Forget about the poverty tourists: it is the chronic, persistent poor — probably accounting for 5-10 per cent of the population — who really matter.

This is all very well, say the anti-poverty activists and Labour, but the only way to garner support from the middle class is to blur this distinction — make us think we are all in this together. Labour's emphasis on insecurity is part of this strategy — most Britons are "only one pay cheque from poverty".

But this tactic could backfire, at least for the poor. Voters know the difference between the fretting middle class and the abject poor — and hanging on about the former risks diluting concern for those genuinely in need.

The poor are already marginalised. Not so much by the lack of money but by geography. One of the most striking trends of the past 15 years has been the fracturing of Britain's cities into council-estate ghettos of desperation, alongside smart Georgian squares.

Anne Green, a researcher at the University of Warwick, has charted the growing spatial polarisation between rich and poor during the 1980s. Her work shows that a person in the poorest "travel to work" area is six times more likely to be unemployed than someone in the most affluent. But the real tragedy is in the depths of the poverty: the former's chances of having been out of work for more than a year is 23 times higher than the latter's. There are no tourists here.

The squashing of the poorest into islands of neglect has transformed the experience of poverty. It is one thing to live on benefits in a decent area with little crime, a well-equipped doctor's surgery and good school, quite another to live in fear of a mugging, knowing the chances of your son or daughter getting a GCSE are almost nil. Poverty is not about how much or how little money people have — it is about where they live.

THE NEW geography of poverty demands a recasting of the traditional labelling agenda of redistribution. Taking money from successful individuals and giving it to the unsuccessful has already gone out of fashion, because taking people's cash makes governments unpopular — but also because it is now accepted that targeting welfare benefits at poor individuals damages work incentives.

Instead of raising the level of benefits, the priority must be to reduce the impact of poverty on people's lives. Teachers and doctors working on sink estates should be paid two or three times as much as colleagues in the leafy areas — whatever it takes to get the best, in place of the worst. Public transport

is no longer subsidised by the middle class, so the state will have to do it. The housing stock desperately needs updating.

Instead of redistributing to poor people, we should redistribute to poor places. There are some innovative ways of doing this. One concrete achievement of the Clinton administration was the establishment of the Community Development Financial Institutions Fund, which provides free loans to groups in poor areas for locally staffed regeneration. Why not in Britain?

Ultimately, however, the necessary funds can come only from higher taxation on the better-off, or a reduction in their welfare payments — mortgage tax relief and child benefit are prime targets.

But the high walls between rich and poor areas make this harder politically. As Ms Green says: "It is a case of out of sight out of mind. The middle class never come across the people in the council estates — even their kids don't mix."

This is why Labour's new concern with community could spell trouble for the poor. The "communitarians", led by the US guru Amitai Etzioni — and counting Mr Blair among their number — stress the moral responsibility on individuals to look after themselves, their families, neighbours and communities.

As Carey Oppenheim, one of the authors of the CPAG book, says: "Geographical polarisation changes the political agenda, because people don't see themselves as occupying the same world as the poor." At its worst, community activism can take the form of barricade-building — working together to stop social housing or half-way homes for the mentally ill from "spoiling" the area. Etzioni, in The Spirit Of Community, did recognise this risk: "One of the gravest dangers of rebuilding communities is that they will become insular and

indifferent to the fate of outsiders."

But his prescription scarcely amounts to the kind of investment required to rescue the most marginal areas. "The ways [of helping other communities] are almost endless, from sending food, blankets and volunteers when a neighbouring community is overwhelmed by shoring equipment such as snow ploughs."

Blankets are not enough. Communitarianism will only be a progressive force if the fortunate see themselves as being in the same community as the poor. And the fracturing of British society makes this less, rather than more, likely.

The rhetoric of community has a powerful resonance in a society which has witnessed the destruction wrought by rampant individualism. It could be replaced by a rampant "communitism" that would leave the poor as invisible as ever.

*Poverty: The Facts, CPAG, 1-5 Bath Street, London EC1V 9PY

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Starting rates April 4	Starting rates April 1
Australia	1,9074-1,9098	1,9397-1,9429
Austria	19,00-19,02	19,97-19,99
Belgium	46,76-46,78	46,99-46,99
Canada	2,0440-2,0457	2,0599-2,0599
Denmark	8,78-8,79	8,71-8,70
France	7,72-7,72	7,68-7,70
Germany	2,2792-2,2793	2,2879-2,2810
Hong Kong	11,55-11,56	11,93-11,81
India	0,9978-0,9995	0,9989-0,9716
Italy	2,399-2,371	2,399-2,363
Japan	193,34-193,46	193,78-194,00
Netherlands	2,5448-2,5472	2,5399-2,5392
New Zealand	2,2210-2,2243	2,2201-2,2234
Norway	8,51-8,53	8,50-8,50
Portugal	333,42-333,68	333,94-333,59
Spain	166,38-160,12	162,74-160,17
Sweden	10,18-10,18	10,18-10,17
Switzerland	1,8939-1,8992	1,8191-1,8927
USA	1,3074-1,3081	1,3291-1,3291
EU	1,2167-1,2173	1,2168-1,2167

FTSE 100 Share Index up 7.1 at 5799.4, FTSE 250 Index up 10.8 at 4419.7, Gold down 0.1 at 349.95

The Washington Post

Aid Workers' Exodus Adds to Liberia Woes

Jonathan C. Randal in Freetown, Sierra Leone

WITH the United States nearing conclusion of its helicopter evacuation of foreigners from Monrovia at the weekend, the Liberian capital faces the prospect of coping without the international aid personnel essential to keep the West African nation functioning.

The evacuation of crucial United Nations specialists and private relief workers — an inadvertent consequence of the worst factional violence in Monrovia in the seven-year-old Liberian civil war — has worsened the plight of the city, which is suffering from a severe lack of water, food and sanitation.

Relief workers among the nearly 1,500 foreigners evacuated since Tuesday last week by U.S. Army or Air Force helicopters said in interviews that they will think twice before resuming full operations in Monrovia. Without functioning offices there, distribution of humanitarian aid elsewhere in the country could be compromised, they said.

"Going back in is likely to be a group decision involving the major relief agencies [that] have worked in Liberia," said Joseph DeVries of World Vision International. "95 per cent of their vehicles, records and other infrastructure is now destroyed. By their very presence, relief agencies provided some sense of restraint on the armed factions,

because they acted as international observers on the ground. Now almost all have gone."

But as other humanitarian relief workers learned in post-Cold War conflicts in Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda, relief workers here say that their presence and good deeds are no substitute for a commitment by major Western powers to maintain law and order.

"Regional solutions for regional problems, African solutions for African problems — that was our mantra back in 1990," an American diplomat who follows African events recalled recently. "But it didn't work out."

Instead of taking an active and direct role in restoring order in Liberia, the Bush administration encouraged and helped bankroll a predominantly Nigerian peacekeeping force described by Liberians and some diplomats in Monrovia as just another looting militia.

Over the years, as U.S. relations with Nigeria deteriorated, Washington found itself unwittingly committed to the West African regional peace force known as ECOMOG, or the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group.

In the first five years of the war in Liberia, most of the country was ransacked. 150,000 Liberians were killed, and more than half the nation's 2.3 million people were displaced, according to relief agencies and diplomats.

By last August, with little left to loot, both ECOMOG and Charles



Dash for safety . . . a US embassy soldier orders Western evacuees to hurry aboard a helicopter leaving Monrovia, the Liberian capital. PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTOPHER SEAY

Taylor, the civil servant who invaded on Christmas Eve 1989 from Ivory Coast to overthrow the U.S.-backed government of Samuel K. Doe, appeared ready to cut a deal.

Taylor and rival faction leaders agreed to a six-man Council of State that was entrusted with disarming the various militias as a precondition for holding elections next fall.

Not only did disarmament fail to take place, but the militias smuggled arms into Monrovia in violation of a commitment to keep the capital clear of combatants and weaponry.

As bush fighters became increasingly restless with their leaders' inability to reward them for their years of service, the stage was set

for the outbreak of looting by men eager to share in the war's spoils.

The fighting began in Monrovia when Taylor and his allies attacked Roosevelt Johnson, leader of a faction of the Movement for Democracy in Liberia, which controlled strategic territory near the city.

Taylor appears to have miscalculated. His offensive has reunited the ranks of the Krahn, a tribe prominent in the army during Doe's decade-long reign.

Taylor defended his attack, insisting in a radio broadcast that it was "government policy" made necessary by Johnson's misdeeds. But last week, militiamen of Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia

broke into an oceanside hotel less than 600 feet from the U.S. Embassy, robbed 40 Lebanese sheltered there and stole all the cars in the parking lot.

In Liberia these days, such lack of discipline is not limited to Taylor's faction. But Taylor, reputedly the toughest-minded of the warring, has a record of political miscalculation just as power seems about to fall peacefully into his hands.

After defeating Doe's army in 1990, he chose violence rather than move to elections, which observers felt he was assured of winning. In 1992, he launched an offensive against Monrovia that was driven off by ECOMOG.

U.S. to Return Okinawa Air Base to Japan

Mary Jordan and Kevin Sullivan in Tokyo

THE United States announced plans last week to return a key U.S. air base in Okinawa to Japan, a move aimed at soothing tensions over the U.S. military presence here with one of the largest reversions of U.S.-controlled land in Japan since the end of World War II.

The dramatic announcement by U.S. Ambassador Walter F. Mondale and Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, carried live on national television, was a symbolic prelude to President Clinton's state visit here this week.

With difficult trade issues expected to remain in the background at the summit, the unexpected base deal will be the centerpiece of a rousing pep rally for the U.S.-Japan security alliance, complete with a Clinton speech on the deck of the aircraft carrier USS Independence.

Clinton said in Washington that the agreement addresses "legitimate concerns of the people of Okinawa" about noise levels, access to land. I hope we've got a good resolution here that will permit us to defend our own security interests and pursue our interests in the northern Pacific and fulfill our commitments to our Japanese allies."

Mondale and Hashimoto said that the 1,200-acre Futenma Marine Corps Air Station will be closed and returned to Japan within five to seven years. Harrier jets stationed there will return to the United

States, while helicopters and tanker planes will move to other sites in Japan. Military personnel from the base will be reassigned to other American bases in Japan, and there will be no reduction in the overall U.S. troop strength here.

Mondale said those measures, plus others designed to reduce "noise and other irritants" in Okinawa, would be formally unveiled in Tokyo by U.S. Defense Secretary William J. Perry, who was visiting just ahead of Clinton. "This demonstrates we have what it takes to build an enduring alliance for the 21st century," said Mondale, standing next to Hashimoto.

The two officials also took the opportunity to hint at another breakthrough that may come during Clinton's visit. Hashimoto, said Japan is prepared to consider expanding the role its military would play in supporting U.S. forces in the event of war in the region.

Japan's constitution prohibits it from engaging in anything but defensive military actions. The more conservative factions here interpret that to mean Japan should not re-supply U.S. ships, lend spare parts or allow the use of Japanese landing strips to U.S. jets in the event of a crisis. It is remarkable for a Japanese prime minister to say he is even willing to consider such actions.

Officials later said the announcement was made on Friday last week because word of it had leaked out, and the governments wanted to announce the news themselves.

Mondale said the plan had been approved by Clinton, who discussed it with Hashimoto when the two met in California last month.

Futenma air base had come to symbolize Okinawans' anger at the huge U.S. military presence. The base is surrounded by dense residential areas whose residents have complained bitterly about noise

from helicopters, Harrier jets and huge tankers that fly in and out.

Until last week, the chances of returning it to Okinawans seemed remote. U.S. officials had declared the base, and its 9,000-foot long runway, vitally important to their strategic mission of keeping stability in the region.

Since last September's rape of a 12-year-old girl by three U.S. servicemen, Okinawans have pressed for a reduction in the U.S. military pres-

ence on the southern islands, and Futenma was their primary target.

Okinawa's governor, Masahide Ota, the most vocal critic of the U.S. military in his community, said he was pleased with the announcement. Ota said the return of Futenma had been his "number-one priority," and the decision to return it demonstrated sincerity about Okinawan concerns by Tokyo and Washington. He said he hopes there would be more concessions.

FREE 'PREVIEW' TAPE - IT'S WORTH A LISTEN.

Martin Jarvis introduces 60 minutes of clips from "This Scripted Tale", "Sense & Sensibility", "An Evening With Joyce Grenfell", "The Piano", "Goldfinger", "Blackadder", and many other top quality recordings.

Readers include Anna Massey, Paul Eddington, Richard E Grant and Juliet Stevenson.

It's an exciting FREE preview of the best on talking tape this month.

And it's only available from Talking Tapes Direct, the mail order service with over 5,000 talking tapes to choose from, many of them titles you won't find in shops.

Our first class service includes prompt, efficient processing of your order, and delivery direct to your door.

To sample our service, and for your FREE Talking Tapes Direct 'Preview' Tape and Catalogue contact us direct today.

NOBODY SPECIALISES IN TALKING TAPES LIKE TALKING TAPES DIRECT

CALL +44 1733 230645 FOR YOUR FREE TALKING TAPES DIRECT 'PREVIEW' TAPE & CATALOGUE

Or complete this coupon and send it to Talking Tapes Direct, Freeport (PE 26A), Peterborough PE2 6BR, U.K.

Please rush me my FREE Talking Tapes Direct 'Preview' Tape & Catalogue

Name _____ Address _____ Postcode _____ Tel No _____

From digit to three we may make changes and substitutions from our printing list available to other reputable, carefully selected companies whose products they are of interest to you. Please tick this box if you do not wish to receive such mailings.

TTDA 133

Sheila Co Ltd

Mitsubishi Faces Sex Harassment Charges

Kirstin Downey Grimsley

IN A LAWSUIT filed last week, the federal government accused the U.S. subsidiary of Japan's Mitsubishi Motors Corporation of allowing male employees and managers at an Illinois plant to sexually harass hundreds of female workers.

U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission said in its suit that male employees at the Mitsubishi plant in Normal, Illinois, engaged in repeated "groping, grabbing and touching" of female employees, used abusive sexual language to the women, required some to consent to sexual relations as a condition of employment, and forced their resignations if they complained of the treatment.

In a formal statement about the suit, EEOC vice chairman Paul Iwasaki said that men called women "sluts, whores and bitches and other names which I cannot repeat" in the workplace. They placed drawings of genitals, breasts and various sexual acts, labeled with female employees' names, on car fenders and cardboard signs along the auto assembly line, he said. Between 300 and 500 women were affected by the behavior, the agency said.

Gary Shultz, vice president and general counsel for the subsidiary, Mitsubishi Motor Manufacturing of America Inc., denied the allegations and said that the EEOC's lawsuit and public comments on the charges were motivated by election-year politics.

"This is a mean streak," Shultz said. "It is more than unfair. They're trying it in the public."

In an earlier statement, Shultz said that "discrimination of any kind

will never [be] — and has never been — tolerated at this plant. We find harassment in the workplace to be reprehensible and it has no place" at his company.

The EEOC called its action "the largest sexual harassment suit nationwide" since the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. The filing comes at a time when the agency's entire mission has been called into question by some members of the Republican-controlled Congress. They contend that efforts to assure equal opportunity have gone too far and have become an unfair burden on employers.

Recently, the EEOC has come under criticism for its handling of an investigation of the Hooter's Inc. restaurant chain, which has been the subject of numerous sexual harassment and gender discrimination lawsuits by male and female employees. In the fall, Hooter's launched a successful public relations counterattack on the agency, ridiculing its actions. Facing Congressional pressure, the EEOC has backed down on the case and is unlikely to file a lawsuit, sources in the agency have said.

The Mitsubishi plant was built in 1988 as a joint venture of Chrysler Corporation and Mitsubishi. In 1991, Mitsubishi bought out Chrysler's interest in the plant. Today it manufactures cars including Mitsubishi Eclipse and Galant, Chrysler Eagle Talon and Sebring and Dodge Avenger. It employs about 4,000 workers, mostly Americans and about 70 Japanese. Some top managers are American and others are Japanese.

The EEOC is seeking back pay for the women, as well as compen-

satory and punitive damages, which could add up to more than \$10 million, according to John Rowe, director of the EEOC's office in Chicago. The class-action lawsuit was filed in U.S. District Court in Peoria, Illinois.

The EEOC investigation was initiated in early 1994 by R. Gault Silberman, a Republican commissioner originally appointed by President Reagan, after 26 female employees at the plant made a formal complaint to the agency.

"This case should have a significant impact beyond the parties and should send the strong message that sexual harassment in the workplace, whether in office suites or on the assembly line floor, will not be tolerated — especially not on the outrageous scale that we see here," Iwasaki said.

Iwasaki said that investigators found that:

- Male employees and supervisors ridiculed, ostracized and physically threatened women who complained of the treatment, and sabotaged their work;
- Forced women to resign to escape the harassment;
- In at least one case, a male employee put his air gun between a female's legs and pulled the trigger.

"There were many other kinds of physical sexual harassment," Iwasaki said at a news conference in Chicago. "They are all serious."

EEOC officials in Chicago said that many male employees at the plant, most of them Americans, took part in the harassment, but that top officials failed to put an end to it. They said that some men who sought to speak up about the harassment were punished for protesting.

Rowe said that in one case, a married man who worked at the plant entered the men's room and found a written description of his wife's supposed participation in group sex with men who worked at the plant.

"It was an untrue allegation about his wife up on the wall, with implications to their marriage and family life," Rowe said. These actions "had extreme consequences and psychological effects on the employees. This case stands apart."

Shultz of Mitsubishi said the company investigated the charges when they were first brought in 1993 and 1994, initially by the 26 female employees, and found that the company's "policies, practices and procedures were quite effective, more than adequate. They are very stern."

The 26 employees continue to pursue their case, independently of the EEOC investigation, with a suit filed in U.S. District Court. Attorneys representing them declined to make them available.

In August 1995, the EEOC announced its largest-ever such settlement in a sexual harassment case. Del Laboratories, a cosmetics firm based in Farmingdale, New York, which makes Sally Hansen Cosmetics and Hard As Nails manicure products, agreed to pay \$1.2 million to settle the lawsuit.

In the lawsuit, Del Labs Chairman Dan K. Wasong was charged by 15 female assistants with touching female employees' breasts and buttocks, asking for oral sex, conducting business with his pants zipper open and using abusive sexual language to women workers. Del Labs officials denied that any civil rights violations had occurred.

Economies in Latin States 'Too Slow'

Gabriel Escobar in La Paz

A UNITED NATIONS study has concluded that Latin American economies, although more stable, are growing at such a modest rate that poverty, unemployment and other social ills remain unchanged and in some instances have worsened in the past decade despite sweeping market reforms.

The study, by the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, will be released formally this week at the biannual commission meeting in Costa Rica. Put together by staff economists, it offers a sobering look at the region and is certain to fuel debate between those who favor free market liberalization and those who argue that the gap between rich and poor is increasing.

More evidence that a decade of macroeconomic stability has not improved the lives of the poor is found to increase already enormous pressure on most of the hemisphere's governments. With criticism coming from such disparate sources as Pope John Paul II and Mexican rebel leader Subcomandante Marcos, governments are being asked to address social problems while at the same time adhering to tight fiscal policies demanded by the prevailing economic model.

The U.N. report concludes that structural and economic reforms born out of the debt crisis of the early 1980s constitute a "fundamental transformation in the region's process of development." But even though it acknowledges the reforms stabilized prices, attracted foreign investment and strengthened democracies, the study paints a pessimistic picture of what all this has meant so far to the region's poor — who are a majority.

The study concludes that the region has not yet created enough jobs to help reduce poverty or close the gap between rich and poor. The poor in some instances are worse off today than before the fiscal crisis of the early 1980s, which wiped out significant gains of the previous two decades, according to the report.

It says policies to address social problems have been "insufficient," either too limited or too constricted by tight monetary policies to make a significant difference. Although not mentioned in the study, frustration over the economic model is one of the principal causes of civic unrest in the region, responsible for the peasant uprising in Mexico as well as periodic riots in Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador and elsewhere.

In one of the more sobering conclusions, the study says the delicate social situation could shake the foundations upon which the reforms rest. "This presents a not-to-be-healthy social panorama," the study concludes, according to a summary released by the commission, "with latent problems that could make it difficult to sustain the process of development."

Gert Rosenthal, the commission's secretary general, said the region is still better off than six or seven years ago, when many countries were struggling with the aftermath of the fiscal crisis. But he said the reforms are "not yet consolidated, and the purpose of this document is to convince governments that there is room for public policies."

Crash Pilot's Mother Says Choice Right

Tom Kenworthy and Kathryn Wexler

STANDING before the spot where her daughter died in the crumpled wreckage of a single-engine plane, Lisa Blair Hathaway last week defended her decision to allow seven-year-old Jessica Dubroff to attempt a cross-country flight that ended in tragedy in Cheyenne, Wyoming.

"You look at Jess and tell me how you can question that," said Hathaway as she knelt with her two surviving children next to a makeshift shrine bedecked with flowers and stuffed animals 50 yards from the driveway where the Cessna 177 carrying Jessica, her father Lloyd Dubroff and her flight instructor Joe Reid plummeted to the ground. "Jess did what she enjoyed: she had a full, wonderful, wonderful, exquisite life."

Hathaway's outward calm in explaining the great tragedy of her daughter's death as the price of an expansive and joy-filled life came as criticism mounted nationwide of both Jessica Dubroff's parents and an aviation system that allowed the accident to happen. The three occupants of the small plane died instantly about 8:30am on Thursday last week, shortly after taking off from Cheyenne Municipal Airport in a driving rainstorm accompanied by strong winds and sleet daunt-



Jessica Dubroff, aged seven, stands beside her Cessna plane before her record flight attempt ended in tragedy last week.

enough to have dissuaded at least one other aircraft from taking off. Dubroff, who would have turned eight next month, was attempting to become the youngest pilot to complete a cross-country flight.

Hathaway spoke with great equanimity of her daughter's life and death in terms that appeared to reflect the family's unconventional life in Pescadero, California. "I simply am here for my own well-being," said Hathaway, who has described herself as a "spiritual healer."

Earlier in the day, during an appearance on NBC's Today show, Hathaway sobbed about her daughter's death, while defending the decision to let her fly. "She had a freedom which you can't get by holding her back," a crying Hathaway said as she cradled her three-year-old daughter, Jasmine.

Amid calls in Washington and across the country for regulatory and legislative restrictions on flights by children, Hathaway implored the Federal Aviation Administration not to inhibit young people who seek fulfillment and self-expression in the air. "There's a lot of great pilots out there of any age," she said. "To hold anyone back is to miss the message."

Legislation is expected to be introduced in Congress this week that would prohibit the very young from piloting planes, and Senate Commerce Committee chairman Larry Pressler, R-South Dakota, said his rules by the FAA encouraged the kind of competition that led to Dubroff's death.

The Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association, which represents more than 300,000 general aviation pilots, continues to oppose tougher regulation of young flyers, but said the crash should put an end to such "youngest pilot competition." Drew Sieteker, AOPA's senior vice president for communications, said, "AOPA and many people in the general aviation community have been uncomfortable with these flights."

Investigators for the National Transportation Safety Board met in Greeley, Colorado to pore over the wreckage of the Cessna 177. Chief investigator Steve McCreary said a final determination of the cause might take up to six months.

The question that was on the minds of many people — why would Jessica Dubroff's parents not just countenance a seven-year-old's quest for an aviation record but encourage it — came into somewhat clearer focus during Hathaway's hour-long encounter with scores of reporters at the crash scene on Kornegay Street in Cheyenne.

Jessica's life may have been cut short, said Hathaway, but that is no argument for denying her a rich childhood in which she reveled in the freedom of her parents' philosophy that children should be given great latitude to learn by experimentation and exploration rather than by sitting in a classroom.

India, Pakistan Fight for Nuclear Parity

Kenneth J. Cooper in Islamabad

ONE country tests a new missile, the other vows to develop a similar one of its own. One prepares for an underground nuclear test, the other gets ready to do likewise. One proposes to increase its defense budget, the other threatens to match the rise.

It is almost as if the Cold War has started all over again, this time in South Asia, as an insecure Pakistan tries to keep up with its arch-enemy and much larger neighbor, India, in a race to develop their nuclear arsenals and the means to deliver them. With the two countries locked in a long-standing rivalry over Kashmir, the CIA has warned that the world's greatest potential for nuclear conflict lies in this region.

The subcontinental arms race has caused complications in U.S. relations with India and Pakistan alike, with both countries unlikely to agree to an international nuclear test ban being negotiated in Geneva. In addition, it has created an extra irritant in relations with China, a country the CIA contends has supplied nuclear-related material to Pakistan.

The arms race has intensified because of several developments in the past year. In India, the ruling Congress Party has adopted a more hawkish stance in advance of parliamentary elections beginning later this month and extending into May. The New Delhi government said it was provoked by U.S. consideration of the release of \$368 million in conventional arms to Pakistan and by China's reported shipment to Pakistan of specialized magnets used to enrich uranium.

Reports circulated in Washington last December that India was preparing a site for an underground nuclear explosion, which would be the first since the surprise initial test in 1974. But the plans were suspended in the face of U.S. protests, according to a congressional source.

Then in January, India ignored U.S. objections and carried out another test of its new Prithvi II missile, which can carry nuclear warheads and has a range of 155 miles, enough to reach such Pakistani cities as Lahore, Islamabad and Rawalpindi. It remains unclear, however, whether India has actually deployed the missile, which officials in Pakistan suspect was designed to attack its major cities.

Whatever India's motivations, Pakistan has vowed not to be outdone. "If India wants to prove its manhood by conducting a nuclear test, then we have the capability to do our manhood," Foreign Minister Sardar Asif Ahmed Ali told Pakistan's parliament last month. "We don't want to carry out a nuclear test, but we have taken all measures for the security of the country."

The tensions between the two South Asian neighbors — which have fought three wars — are rooted in religion and the dispute over Kashmir. When the British left the subcontinent in 1947, the Islamic republic of Pakistan was created as a haven for Muslims who had suffered discrimination at the hands of India's predominant Hindu, while what remained of British India became a secular democracy with one Muslim-majority province: Punjab and Kashmir.

The military rivalry turned ugly in 1974 after India conducted its underground test so far, in

response, then-Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto — the father of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto — declared that impoverished Pakistan would "go for nuclear status even if we have to eat grass."

Since 1987, Pakistan has said it possesses the know-how and material to make nuclear weapons, but it has yet to demonstrate its capability by testing one.

One Western diplomat suggested that India and Pakistan have been confronted with decisions about whether to build up their nuclear capacity as the rest of the world moves away from developing nuclear arsenals or adding to existing ones. Last year, neither country

signed an indefinite extension of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Nor does either appear willing to embrace a comprehensive test-ban treaty being drafted by 38 nations.

Pakistan has indicated it will not sign the treaties unless India does. India has criticized the NPT and draft test-ban treaty as discriminatory because they constrain nuclear threshold states without taking nuclear weapons away from the five nations that acknowledge having them: the United States, Russia, China, France and Britain.

As a result, India has sought to link the test ban to a timetable for eliminating nuclear

weapons. "It would not be a meaningful treaty if it's not going to be a disarmament step," Arundhati Ghose, India's negotiator on the test ban, said in an interview from Geneva. "You need a target date for when this process will end... at least acceptance of a target date" for eliminating nuclear arsenals. "We can negotiate the actual target date later."

More than 60 percent of urban Indians surveyed last December by India Today magazine said they would approve if the nation conducted another test blast. And 72 percent rated "protecting ourselves against nuclear threats from China

and Pakistan" as the most important reason to have a nuclear program. Nuclear weapons capability is even more popular in Pakistan, where opinion surveys consistently have shown about 80 percent saying the country should have an arsenal. A Gallup poll in January indicated similar support for Pakistan to conduct a nuclear test if India does.

Pakistan, a nation of 130 million, fears being overwhelmed militarily by India, which has a population of more than 900 million. India's conventional forces outnumber Pakistan's by about 2 to 1, and many Pakistanis consider having a credible threat of nuclear retaliation a matter of national survival.

"At least in our mind, if not on the ground, the race is on," a senior Pakistani military officer said. "The Cold War is on."

Wherever you are in the world, our range of Money Market Cheque Accounts can give you maximum flexibility with instant access.

£ \$ DM

You could search the wide world over for a more flexible cheque account and never find it.

Bank of Scotland in Jersey's Money Market Cheque Accounts, with their convenient cheque books, are ideal for overseas residents who require easy access to their money. The accounts are available in Sterling or US Dollars and now thanks to our latest account, in Deutsche Marks.

And because cheques are cleared through the appropriate UK, US or German clearing house systems, collection charges often incurred when writing foreign currency cheques are avoided.

Interest rates are highly competitive, and being Jersey-based accounts, interest is paid gross. Statements are issued monthly as a matter of course.

Bank of Scotland in Jersey's Money Market Cheque Accounts are available to individuals, businesses, clubs, charities, associations, trusts, pension funds and investment companies. Minimum initial deposits are £2,500, \$5,000 and DM7,500.

The Sterling Money Market Cheque Account is provided by Bank of Scotland which is incorporated in Scotland with its head office at the Mound, Edinburgh, EH1 1YZ. The US Dollar and Deutsche Mark Money Market Cheque Accounts are provided by Bank of Scotland (Jersey) Limited. Copies of Bank of Scotland's and Bank of Scotland (Jersey) Limited's latest published accounts are available on request from P.O. Box 388, 4 Dun Road, St. Helier, Jersey, JE4 9DU, Channel Islands.

Don't miss this opportunity to make your money work harder. Return the coupon below for further details and an application form.

Send to: Bank of Scotland, P.O. Box 388, 4 Dun Road, St. Helier, Jersey, JE4 9DU. Channel Islands. Telephone: +44 (0)1534 38855 or Fax: +44 (0)1534 38853.

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____

COUNTRY: _____

BANK OF SCOTLAND IN JERSEY

Jessica Dubroff

Voices of Black America

Jim Sleeper

COMING THROUGH THE FIRE
Surviving Race and Place in America
By C. Eric Lincoln
Duke University Press, 157pp., \$17.95

THE TROUBLE WITH FRIENDSHIP
Why Americans Can't Think Straight
About Race
By Benjamin DeMott
Atlantic Monthly Press, 214pp., \$22

THE FUTURE OF THE RACE
By Henry Louis Gates Jr.
and Cornel West
Knopf, 198pp., \$21

EVER SINCE Frederick Douglass stunned a white Fourth of July audience in 1852 by asking "What have I, or those I represent, to do with your national independence?", many blacks have felt torn between asserting an unbridled, American personal freedom and maintaining a distinctive racial solidarity. That struggle proceeds in terms barely intelligible to most whites, who came here by personal choice, not through wholesale abduction, cultural dispossession, and confinement to a caste.

Lately, however, the tension between transracial dignity and racial loyalty, elucidated so vividly by Douglass and, later, W.E.B. Du Bois, has taken a new twist. The mainstreaming of black celebrities, artists, politicians and professionals — not to mention the "multiculturalizing" of the old, Anglo-conformist society by other nonwhites — has prompted new, complicated reflections such as those by the four writers under review. So has the loss, noted often in these books, of a coherent American, racist or otherwise. Once, blacks knew what they were up against, and thus a racist society's cohesion offered firm moral footholds, even as it threw up barriers.

And now?

Henry Louis Gates Jr. sounds uneasy beneath his urbane memoir of undergraduate struggles with blackness at Yale. Cornel West sounds almost despairing beneath his typically windy invocations of "radical democracy." Benjamin DeMott seems trapped in the hair shirt some "old stock" white liberals donned long ago. Only C. Eric Lincoln, the grand old man of the four, vividly chronicling his experiences in the Alabama of the 1930s, throws out a luminous, gossamer thread of hope. Lincoln's *Coming Through the Fire* is a worthy sequel to James Baldwin's angry *The Fire Next Time*. Time will tell whether the United States is worthy of this beautiful book.

Gates and West, both professors in the Harvard Afro-American Studies department that Gates chairs, collaborate in *The Future of the Race* not so much to honor Du Bois as to "re-evaluate" him. Their jointly written introduction, their two separate essays, and an appendix in which Gates introduces Du Bois's 1903 essay "The Talented Tenth" and Du Bois's 1948 address elaborating on it, make for an unresolved effort whose contributors wander off in different directions.

Du Bois's own contribution is well known. He called for a black elite — "the Talented Tenth" — to instruct, challenge and champion the race on its way to integration, even as he wondered, "Can I be both [an American and a Negro]?" Or is it my duty to cease to be a Negro as soon as possible and to be an American? His own answer to the question came in 1961 when,

after witnessing Jim Crow's first defeats by the Civil Rights movement, he left the United States to spend his last days pursuing an elusive, quasi-Marxist, black-nationalist vision in Ghana.

That pessimism and the parlous condition of black leadership today launch Gates on a mournful recollection of his and other black students' struggles with Du Bois's famous question at Yale in the early 1970s. The university was solicitous of their gropings and racial wagon-circling, but Gates notes that quite a few of his "Talented Tenth" circle have since died of hypertension or violence at black hands. He doesn't blame racism as much as the flight of those he knew from Yale's opportunities into a defensive blackness. But, unlike them, he says, he couldn't "allow blackness to rob me of what I wistfully and portentously called 'my humanity'." Only sometimes does Du Bois feel guilty that it was among the lucky ones at Yale, he concludes, "and only sometimes do I ask myself why."

The real answer seems to be that he has chosen humanism over racialism — a commitment he has expressed by condemning black antisemitism. That

absurd, though perhaps not as prophetic as West would have us believe. While West may not be entirely wrong about Du Bois, he is certainly unclear about how black cultural genius or his notions of radical democracy can redeem us.

It is also, at least partly, a bad rap on the many white moralists who, in person and in spirit, nourished the early experiences and later reflections of many blacks besides Du Bois. But this moralism had its censorious, condescending underside, and Benjamin DeMott, an "old stock" New Englander, is so tortured a bearer of Puritan guilt and its expository impulses that I can't imagine many blacks basking in his solicitude.

DeMott warns, usefully, that mainstream America tries to wish its racism away in tokenism and the amiable banter of black and white TV anchors. But he's so intent on portraying blacks as prisoners of caste that he ends up reinforcing the negative stereotypes that even some racists disclaim.

He protests the "homicidal neglect" conviction of a black welfare mother whose children burned to death when she left them alone. She'd left them alone

often, but DeMott is troubled that both her (black) prosecutor and (white) defense attorney accepted the premise of any criminal trial — that the defendant should be judged by her choices, such as whether she'd secured adequate adult supervision for her children. He blames America for her "bottom caste" behavior: "Black America includes millions of welfare mothers, the majority overwhelmed by their lives" and isolated from suburbs where "sprinklers glint on combed lawns" and people "thumbblack prized baby-sitter phone lists to their kitchen bulletin boards."

Has DeMott ever spent a week in a poor neighborhood? To suspend judgment of this mother in deference to her "caste status" is to deny all black welfare mothers' capacity to assume responsibility as parents. Perhaps DeMott thinks they also shouldn't serve on juries or vote. The entertainment world shouldn't laugh racism away, but neither should white social critics reinforce negative stereotypes while massaging their own guilt.

Like DeMott, C. Eric Lincoln, professor emeritus at Duke University and a noted scholar of black religion, argues that "few of the changes we hoped for have been truly accomplished, even though the cosmetics of progress are always being paraded before us with cynical reassurance." Like West,

Lincoln finds that "Du Bois' search for identity was essentially a personal intellectual exercise," divorced from ordinary blacks' struggles. But Lincoln's great, classic personal essay transcends race itself in ways the other authors claim they want to, and think we should, but don't. Unlike them, he makes his deep personal experience of racism the wellspring of a trans-racial American vision.

In the 1920s, when his mother was a domestic for "quality" whites in his native, Athens, Alabama, the tiny Lincoln played with the family's children and other white kids. He stepped forward with them in a health clinic line, only to be grabbed and told, "All you niggers have to wait!" As I stood against the wall rubbing my arm, he recalls, "I soon came to realize that it was not my arm that was hurting, it was my soul. There was a sort of numbness, a dead feeling. The pain was inside me, and I would never be able to rub it away."

Yet he recounts this to show that if one cannot rub it away, one may perhaps redeem its hurtful memory by keeping a canny sort of faith with former white playmates, who were as imprisoned by racism's fraudulent consensus as he was. "Race is a fantasy [italics his]. A chimera," he insists. "A stalking horse for power and privilege." Doesn't that make it indelible in those wounded in childhood? Yes, but Lincoln would oppose retreating into blackness as some of Gates's classmates did at a Yale that was open to them; he would also oppose black wagon-circling even in the teeth of racism itself.

This takes some explaining, and Lincoln does it with a grounded eloquence that reopens our racial dialogue. Because only whites have power to exclude others from resources in America, "black racism will never be more than a voice of defiant impotence screaming out its frustrations." But not only is black racism "a notion with nowhere to go and no way to get there," he continues, "that is as it should be. One kettle of putrefaction is enough..."

Lincoln would shed even a redemptive blackness to mix with whites who disown both their own putative supremacy and counterproductive guilt. He calls for a society that is beyond race: "The supreme disloyalty is not to a bell [of racial solidarity] that has tolled itself into silence, but to the bell that has yet to ring..."

Lincoln is not ashamed to say this; he glories in it, defying the "risk in ignoring [racial] convention, in being out of step with the agents of panic and the gurus of political correctness. It is time now to reach for the hand that is reaching for tomorrow, whatever color that hand may be. The evening of today is already far spent."

Lincoln's own evening is breathtakingly beautiful. The Civil Rights movement has lost so much ground to agents of panic and gurus of correctness that Gates's response to our situation is too elegiac and ironical, while West's is too windy and ethereal. Unlike them, however, Lincoln, now approaching 80, doesn't need a career, doesn't need to position himself. Instead, he dips into his bag to share an elder's evergreen wisdom, a candor and compassion beyond color. His answer to Du Bois's question — black and/or American — is unequivocal: Whenever C. Eric Lincoln writes of our society, he says "we."



Paperbacks

Non-fiction

Nomads of the Dawn: The Penan of the Borneo Rain Forest, by Wade Davis, Ian Mackenzie and Shane Kennedy (Pomegranate Artbooks, \$24.95)

ALONG the Ulong River, in the northwestern province of Sarawak, the Malaysian Borneo, lies the traditional homeland of the Penan. These nomadic hunters have lived in Sarawak's forests since time immemorial; now, as the chainsaws and bulldozers of logging operations raze the forests, an ancient way of life faces extinction. Sarawak's exports of unprocessed timber have risen from 6.7 million cubic meters in 1980 to 18.8 million in 1990; the World Bank estimates that logging is taking place at 10 times the sustainable rate. The book juxtaposes photographs of Penan and the rain forest with first-person testimonials about Penan traditions and the anger and grief they feel about the destruction of their home. "If they continue to extract timber from our forest," says Along Segai, a Penan headman, "lives will wither like leaves on trees, like fish without water."

Cavaty's Alexandria, by Edmund Keeley (Princeton University Press, \$16.95)

NOT LONG ago, Cavaty made an unexpected appearance in news when Maurice Templebrand from the poem "Ithaca" Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis's memorial. Readers who want to explore Cavaty's work further might find this study of the poet and his city, Alexandria, Egypt, "the mythical city that shaped his vision" — a useful companion. Writes Keeley: "I hope is that this book will now read in conjunction with Cavaty's collected poems and so perhaps as a guide for the uninitiated in recovery, with its rare excitement that an unhurried journey shows the world of Cavaty's promises..."

Backward and Upward! The New Conservative Writing, edited with an Introduction by David Brooks (Vintage, \$18)

RUSH LIMBAUGH the Palace speechwriter who's an arsurfer? Nothing surprising in that according to David Brooks: "Cavaty's aren't the stick-in-the-mud that liberals think they are, and to prove it by bringing together samples of the witty, irreverent, provocative thinking that he so characterizes the new conservatives. Here is Christopher Buckley musing on the follies of young people with White House conservatives: 'Who's going to tell them that the States for the president of the United States. I've seen twenty-two of those reduce governors of conservative states to fuming impotence.' I can't tell every second of it, but one tell a government official who's significant foreign power, and the spectacular alienation would take place. The facilities would be adequate." Other contributors include Peggy Noonan, Barnes, P.J. O'Rourke, William F. Buckley Jr. and the Palastinians. Writing on "Why Liberals Fear

Le Monde

Economic woes cast shadow over polls

Marie-Claude Decamps and Salvatore Aloise in Rome on why Italians are feeling gloomy in the run-up to general elections

OLD clichés die hard. Although the Italian tourist industry continues to attract foreign visitors by putting across a glossy image of *la dolce vita*, the truth is very different. The average Italian male does not wear Todd's footwear or Marinella ties, or spend his time at the wheel of his Alfa Romeo calling up his girlfriend on a mobile phone to ask her to make a dish of Barilla pasta as advertised by Gérard Depardieu.

The gossip columns that focused on the former *condottieri* of the Italian economic miracle in the eighties have been replaced by reports on the evil doings of moneylenders. Franco Cazzola, a political pundit,

says: "The Italians are former *non-veaux riches* who have got to come to terms with the fact that their privileges are a thing of the past and they're going to have to lead normal lives again."

In the past three years, 700,000 jobs have been shed. As a result, there are 2.7 million unemployed. The jobless rate is 12.2 per cent, with peaks in the south of 30 per cent, and even 56 per cent among the young.

While private enterprise is thriving, those entering the job market for the first time face an uphill struggle. It is hardly surprising, in a country burdened with debt and mounting social disparities, that moneylenders — known as *strozzini* (stranglers) — have been proliferating. Ten years ago, 80,000 families had fallen into their clutches; the figure is now 600,000.

What has gone wrong? The Italians used to muddle through thanks to the flexibility of the system. Moonlighting, especially in the

south, had the effect of making unemployment rates not as bad as they looked. Cushy retirement terms in the public sector produced a host of happy "baby-pensioners", some of them not yet 40. And then there was the disability scam, when 7 million pensions were paid out even though only 4 million disabled were officially registered.

Guido Rey, an economics professor, says: "The public sector ended up encouraging moonlighting, not only because of high tax pressure, but also because of its inefficiency, which caused strong growth in privately owned services to make up for that shortcoming."

Then the system gradually began to get out of kilter. The government's efforts to reduce the deficit and tighten the budget to conform with the Maastricht treaty criteria hit the taxpayer hard. Successive administrations set about reforming pensions and reducing medical and social spending to a minimum.

With inflation more or less under control, but still running far ahead of pay rises, anyone unlucky enough to fall ill for a long period is bound to drop below the poverty line; 2.5 million families are currently thought to fall into that category, and their number will rise to 3 million by 2000.

As a result, according to the sociologist Giampaolo Fabris, "Italy has become a country that is anxious about the future, where people have to content themselves with the status quo while at the same time scaling down their expectations."

Poverty has become a real threat even to the middle classes, and especially to self-employed workers, shopkeepers and craftsmen, all of them notorious tax evaders who now find their income tax bill has doubled.

The economist Sergio Ricossa regrets the flexibility of the old days: "Luckily there's no magic wand that can totally eliminate tax evasion —

things would be worse for Italy. Unemployment would rise and many small companies would go under. In the end, the taxman would lose out."

This kind of fiscal "revisionism" is central to what has so far been a dull campaign for the elections on April 21. The watchword is: let's be nice to the self-employed (30 per cent of the working population) and to shopkeepers. The latter group organised a spectacular "shutters-down" day of protest two weeks ago.

But other taxpayers need not worry. There will be something for everybody. Gianfranco Fini, head of the National Alliance, has suggested that tax should no longer be deducted at source from salaries and pensions. The centre-right grouping has also suggested cutting income tax and reducing the number of different taxes from 100 to eight.

Caught on the hop, the left has tried to climb on the bandwagon. But it is moving cautiously: it has refrained from promising cuts within the next two years at least, preferring to propose a harmonisation and simplification of the tax system. (April 11)

Despite blips, France makes big China sale

Jean-Pierre Cléro and Christophe Jakubyszyn

BEFORE his four-day trip to France, which began on April 9, the Chinese prime minister, Li Peng, told a French television station: "Throughout the world, different countries have different conceptions of the human rights issue."

By the time his visit was over, France had made a token stand over the human rights situation in China — and signed contracts worth \$2 billion, including the firm purchase by China of 10 Airbus A320 aircraft and its intended order of 20 others.

The day after the French foreign minister, Hervé de Charette, had announced that he had handed his Chinese opposite number, Qian Qichen, a list of 20 political prisoners, Li's spokesman told a press conference he had no knowledge of any such list: "Your information is incorrect. In the past, when such lists have been handed to us, the people featuring on them did not exist."

This episode illustrated the difficulty of establishing the facts when dealing with the Chinese. Two days after his arrival in France, Li said: "Up to now, my visit has gone well."

Yet only the previous day there had been a serious diplomatic incident. To show his irritation at hostile comments in the French press and two demonstrations in Paris by human rights protesters, the Chinese prime minister not only arrived an hour and a half late for an official dinner at the Quai d'Orsay, but succeeded in persuading the French prime minister, Alain Juppé, who was due to raise the human rights issue in a speech at the dinner, that there should be none of the traditional toasts — and therefore no speeches — during the occasion.

The Chinese version of events was different. Li's spokesman claimed that "the atmosphere was very good"; adding "Negotiations over the contracts took longer



than expected, and the banquet, too, lasted a long time, so both sides agreed that there would be no speeches."

Certainly relations were back to normal the day after the incident, when Li visited the Elysées Palace twice. On his first trip he witnessed, along with President Jacques Chirac, the signing of a letter of intent on the joint manufacture of China and the French-Italian-British consortium A1 (R) of a 100-seater "regional" aircraft. Later, he had lunch and talks with the president.

Li's spokesman said there was no "fundamental clash of interests between our two countries", and expressed satisfaction at "the very clear" stance on Taiwan adopted by France, which recognises the existence of only one China. It emerged that the French consulate in Canton, which China had closed down in January 1993 as a protest against France's sale of 60 Mirage 2000 jets to Taipei, was going to reopen.

The spokesman said the two countries were also going "to step up their consultations" over the current Geneva talks aimed at implementing a total nuclear test-ban treaty. The joint venture for the con-

struction of a 100-seater aircraft came as a blow to the US manufacturer Boeing, which currently has about 80 per cent of the Chinese aircraft market. The company's shares dipped by almost 2 per cent on Wall Street.

When asked if Boeing was completely out of the race to build the aircraft, Li's spokesman would not commit himself: "Competition is very keen. It's a question of price and quality."

There is a huge worldwide market for this type of short- and medium-haul aircraft. It is thought to be in the region of 2,500 planes by 2015, and worth more than \$50 billion. China wants to have a 100-seater aircraft ready by 2001, so time is running short: if it were to choose the European option, "co-operation would start immediately", according to the terms of the agreement.

The European manufacturing consortium is prepared to hold only a minority stake in the joint venture and to allow the aircraft to be assembled in China. According to an expert, "discussions will now focus on the sharing of development costs and the scale of the technology transfer we are prepared to accept." (April 12/13)

Palestinian police chief knows what he wants

Patrice Claude in Gaza City

COLONEL Mohamed Dahalan, who was arrested 11 times by the Israelis before being deported to Jordan in 1987, is now, at the age of 34, one of the most powerful figures in the Palestine Authority. In June 1994, Yasser Arafat appointed him head of the Gazan "preventive security services", a secret police of several thousand officers that functions rather like its Israeli counterpart, Shin Bet.

Last week the head of Shin Bet, retired admiral Ami Ayalon, visited Dahalan in the autonomous enclave. "He did so in the normal course of duty," Dahalan said. "He had just been appointed and wanted to see how we could restore co-operation between our services, which is currently at a very low ebb."

Co-operation was badly affected by the recent wave of suicide bombs in Israel: "Shin Bet made us scapegoats for their failure to foresee the four last bomb attacks. When they killed Yahya Ayyash on our territory in January, in violation of the accords, I warned them that reprisals by Hamas's armed wing would be extremely violent."

Ayyash, the armed wing's bomb-maker, was regarded by Israel as directly responsible for attacks that killed some 50 people in 1994-95. Dahalan, who was then negotiating a truce with a close colleague of Ayyash's, says: "I assured the Israelis that Ayyash was prepared to cease all military action. But they still killed him, for reasons that had more to do with public opinion than with security, and they suffered four bombs by way of reprisal."

The Israel-Palestinian peace process has since broken down, the occupied and autonomous territories have been blockaded, and there has been a fierce crackdown on activists suspected of Islamist sympathies. Shin Bet's and the Israeli army have arrested 1,000 Palestinians, and almost as many are being held by the Palestinian police and security services. (April 10)

"If necessary we'll destroy Hamas's military structure totally," says Dahalan. "We'll seize all the remaining dangerous weapons. Then we'll be able to restart negotiations with Hamas's internal political leaders."

Dahalan, like most Palestinians, believes that orders for attacks on Israelis come not from the territories but from Jordan and Syria, now the home of several fundamentalist and other Palestinian leaders deported from their homeland many years ago, who have become more radical in exile. It is also in Amman and Damascus that "those within Hamas who control the secret organisation we have just uncovered are to be found", says Dahalan. He believes about 80 people in Gaza and as many again, if not more, in the West Bank belong to this ultra-secret network.

"We've arrested 70 of them," he says. "They make up the most dangerous network within Hamas. They have killed four Palestinian police officers and a member of the military wing who was in favour of halting the bombing campaign."

Dahalan does not let moral dilemmas get in his way. He has chosen between loyalty to his former fighting comrades and the solution he believes to be the best way for Palestinians to obtain an independent state. "My task is to ensure the continuation of the peace process," he says, "and that's what I'm doing." "I don't trust Israeli governments, but I know the Israelis well, and I'm convinced they have understood there's no alternative solution to an independent Palestinian state. Shimon Peres must be living in a dream world if he believes the problem can be solved through the Jordanian option, without a Palestinian state... Despite the war he has unleashed against us, we want him to win the coming election. For if the Israelis elect [the opposition Likud leader] Netanyahu and his clique, we can say goodbye to the peace process." (April 10)

View from the Copacabana

The architect Oscar Niemeyer, now 89, talks to **Dominic Dhomeres** in Rio de Janeiro

OSCAR NIEMEYER'S studio, on the top floor of an art deco building at the end of Copacabana beach, is reached by an antique lift and a final narrow flight of stairs. It is a huge, light-filled room that affords a view over the whole length of the celebrated beach and the nearby fort of Copacabana. A massive bronze plaque placed on a desk for all to see reads: "A tribute to Oscar Niemeyer from the French Communist Party."

Niemeyer receives visitors in a small windowless room stuffed with books. At 89, with the help of three assistants and a secretary, he is still a practising architect. "I come in at 9am and leave at 9pm. I have lunch here. Friends sometimes drop in for a chat. I've got projects in Brasilia, São Paulo and Portugal. I'm always busy. That's better at my age than worrying about how much time I've got left. I design everything myself, then send my models to my granddaughter, who has an architect's practice."

A few days ago Niemeyer took the wraps off his latest project, a conference centre for media professionals in the seaside town of Marica, 50km north of Rio. It consists of a curved residential building, an auditorium whose concrete roof soars skywards like the prow of a ship, and long ramps for pedestrians like those leading up to the gov-

ernment buildings in Brasilia, for which Niemeyer is best known as an architect.

The centre will be named after the sports journalist João Saldanha. "I'm very attached to the project, because Saldanha was a friend of mine. He was a member of the Communist party like me. He fought very courageously against the military dictatorship in Brazil. He was a great journalist and a good man."

Niemeyer remains a communist, and does not agree with his friend, the writer Jorge Amado, when he is scathing about the time when they were both Stalinists. "I was a member of the Communist party for 46 years. When the party decided to follow the liberal trend of the times and changed its name [in the early eighties], I left it and we recreated a Brazilian Communist party."

"I can't see anything to criticise. When I think of the Soviet communists, I see 70 years of glory. They defeated the Nazis. When we were told communism was dead, I didn't believe a word of it. And look at what's happening now — the only organised party in Russia is the Communist party, and it's probably going to win the next election. There's talk of recreating the Soviet Union. It's unacceptable that such an important country should disappear. No, communism isn't dead."

Niemeyer is not afraid of being labelled a "dinosaur". He remains faithful to the ideals of his youth — "a fraternal Brazil, with neither rich nor poor, which would be completely different from what you see today, all this injustice, all this abject poverty, all this shit. I've always

been on the side of the poor, who form the vast majority of people in the world."

Niemeyer's architectural credo has not changed either: architecture is to be the product of the imagination, and it must surprise. "When people come to see me before visiting Brasilia, I tell them: 'You may or may not like it, but you won't be able to claim you've ever seen anything like it before.' Le Corbusier used to explain that architecture was invention. That's how I see my work: creating something different, something new."

The building he remembers with the greatest pleasure is one of his earliest, the church of St Francis at Pampulha, on the outskirts of the city of Belo Horizonte. Visitors are always taken aback by its glass facade and saddle-shaped roof.

NIEMEYER designed it in 1943, when the mayor of Pampulha was Juscelino Kubitschek. The two men have remained close friends ever since. When Kubitschek became president and decided in 1956 to build a new capital city, Brasilia, on Brazil's bleak central plateau, he asked Niemeyer to design its principal government buildings — the Planalto palace, the houses of parliament and the foreign ministry.

After the 1964 military coup Niemeyer could no longer remain in Brazil. He worked in Israel, France, Algeria and Italy. "When I came to Paris, André Malraux, who was then culture minister, helped me a great deal. He made sure that when I went in for architectural competi-

tions I got treated just like French architects. I knew Sartre, who later visited Brasilia and told me how much he liked the supports [along the facade] of the Planalto palace."

Buildings designed by Niemeyer in France include the headquarters of the French Communist party in Paris and the Maison de la Culture in Le Havre. Niemeyer loves Paris. "The atmosphere is different. Here in Brazil you design a project and it's later changed without so much as a by-your-leave. In France architecture is more respected. When the Communist party headquarters were completed, Jacques Duclos asked me if he could keep an old desk he was very fond of in his new office. You'd never get that kind of thing in Brazil."

Niemeyer has had his fair share of disappointments, however. His project for a tower block at La Défense in western Paris, whose structure would have been broken up by hanging gardens, never got beyond the blueprint stage as a result of lack of finance.

He designed Constantine university in Algeria, but was unable to build the mosque he had imagined projecting out to sea in Algiers — an idea that came to him in a flash during the night.

During the seventies Niemeyer gradually spent more and more time in Brazil. In Rio he designed skyscrapers and the Sambadrome, a remarkable succession of stands before which the samba schools parade during their annual carnival.

Despite his great age, Niemeyer is determined to keep on surprising people: "Heldegger wrote somewhere that reason was the enemy of imagination. My architecture is based on imagination, not theory." (April 2)



Belmondo in Borsalino

Belmondo's complaint

Jean-Michel Frodon

THE French actor Jean-Paul Belmondo blew his top when he learnt that his 67th movie, *Désiré*, a remake of Sacha Guitry's 1937 film of the same name, was going to be released in only six Paris cinemas and a mere 20 in the whole of France. In newspaper and TV interviews he said he saw this as a sign of the ostracism of homegrown French films by exhibition circuits which were "completely under the thumb of the American film industry."

American movies do indeed corner the lion's share of the French market, with 54 per cent of takings in 1995, as compared with the French cinema's 35 per cent. Disney and Fox have stakes in Gaumont and UGC respectively, the two main distribution circuits in Paris. Multi-plexes tend to programme American movies or big-budget French productions, a category into which the independently produced *Désiré* does not fall.

Complains by independents about this state of affairs are not entirely supported by the facts. French films like *Ben-Hur*, *Mon Homme* and *Les Moutons* were all recently released in plenty of Paris cinemas (between 27 and 40).

In his last two movies, Belmondo, who has just celebrated his 67th birthday and 40 years of film acting, seemed to have lost some of his box-office appeal. And the quality of *Désiré*, which, also stars Fanny Ardant, Jean YVES, Claude Rich and Béatrice Dalle, may also partly explain the distributors' decision.

Belmondo's anger was compounded by the fact that *Désiré* was not scheduled to be released in any cinema on the Champs-Élysées, a thoroughfare of symbolic importance to him (he once flew under the Arc de Triomphe).

There was a tiny consolation for Belmondo, though: the distributor of *Désiré* eventually relented and released it this week to 10, rather than six, Paris cinemas — including one on the Champs-Élysées. (April 9)

Le Monde

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani
World copyright by © Le Monde, Paris
All rights strictly reserved

Artist with the eye of a model

Phillippe Dagen reviews an exhibition of work by Suzanne Valadon

THE story of Suzanne Valadon is a complicated and edifying one. The early part of her life could have been imagined by J K Huysmans, her later years by François Mauriac. In between there were many surprises and metamorphoses.

Broadly speaking, Valadon's life can be divided into five acts. The first act began on September 23, 1865, when Marie-Clémentine Valadon was born in central France. Her mother was a cleaning woman, her father unknown.

The second act saw Marie-Clémentine (who had by then become Suzanne) working as a professional model for Puvion de Chavannes, Renoir, Jean-Jacques Henner and others during the 1880s. She gave birth to an illegitimate son, Maurice, and began to draw. In the third act, with Degas' help and advice, she exhibited her drawings and etchings. Maurice's Spanish father recognised his son, whose surname became Utrillo.

The fourth act opened in 1909 with Valadon marrying the painter André Utrillo, who was 20 years her junior, and who encouraged her to give up drawing in favour of painting. From then on, her reputation as an artist grew steadily with the support of galleries and collectors.

The fifth and last act occupied the



Good nudes... Suzanne Valadon's 'The Nudes'

interwar years, when Valadon enjoyed the fruits of her success, which was enhanced by Utrillo's great popularity. Suzanne Valadon died a famous woman on April 7, 1938.

Her life provides a rich vein of inquiry for the sociologist and even the psychoanalyst. The normal roles were reversed when Valadon the model turned into a painter. She was now in command of her models — mostly teenagers of both sexes — a feature which lends her work a strange affinity with Egon Schiele's. She got them to adopt poses that clearly exposed their sexual organs.

The main lesson she learnt from her years of modelling was that it was vital to hide nothing. Since she hated idealisation in any form and did not set out to appeal to the eye, she spared no ugly or deformed detail.

Valadon's 1931 self-portrait shows an old and bare-breasted woman

shapes, reducing volumes to mere surfaces.

When working in pencil or red chalk, Valadon deliberately sets out to obtain, through suppression and simplification, something approaching a diagram. She uses this device with equal determination when depicting human anatomy or tubs and basins in the bathrooms where her nude women squat or sprawl.

Such subjects, settings and techniques are clear evidence of Degas' influence. When Valadon remains too faithful to her master, she lapses into pastiche. But when she keeps her distance, she forges an individual style that hinges on a simplicity of means. In some ways it foreshadows Neue Sachlichkeit and the work of Dix and Grosz in the twenties.

Valadon the painter is even more disconcerting. Her first attempts at the medium, which she made at the age of 44, are reminiscent of early works by Gauguin, Emile Bernard and Félix Vallotton a quarter of a century earlier. Other influences — Courbet, Renoir and perhaps Matisse — show in her later paintings.

But such derivative work is less arresting than the unappealing, stiff and awkward paintings that make no concessions to craftsmanship or prettiness and, bristling with clashing colours.

Her *Nu Allongé Sur Un Canapé Rouge* is hardly a model of elegance, but its very outrageousness and obsession with detail puts across the carnal presence of the sitter very strongly. (March 30)

Suzanne Valadon, Fondation Pierre Gianadda, Martigny, Switzerland. Until May 27. (March 30)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA ANNOUNCES DEVELOPMENT POSTS IN THE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

The School of Medicine with British Overseas Development Administration (ODA) support, is embarking on a scheme aimed at:

- Introducing necessary changes in medical training programmes to make the latter more relevant to Zambia's health needs and to the aspirations of current National Health Reform initiatives.
- Development of interdisciplinary coordination of teaching
- Development of improved teaching/learning skills, and
- Encouraging retention of Zambian staff in the School.

To foster rapid realisation of these objectives, twelve (12) development posts have been created (within the existing staff establishment framework), and are open to suitably qualified persons.

- ELIGIBILITY:**
- Applicants presently not members of the School must have the qualifications necessary for a teaching post in a department of the School of Medicine.
 - Applicants must have the additional skills and attitudes required to perform the development tasks associated with the post of interest to him/her.
 - Expatriates will only be considered for the appointment to a development post if no suitable Zambians are available.
 - Academic members of the School on full-time conditions of service are eligible to apply.
- DURATION:**
Normally, two years with possible renewal subject to satisfactory performance.
- DEVELOPMENT POSTS**
- FACILITATORS FOR COMMUNITY-BASED TRAINING (3) (from the Basic Sciences)
 - INTER-DISCIPLINARY TRAINING COORDINATOR (1)
 - INTER-DISCIPLINARY TRAINING LIAISON OFFICERS (2)
- (One post will be specifically concerned with pre-clinical disciplines and one with clinical disciplines including Community Medicine)
- MEDICAL EDUCATION COORDINATOR (1)
 - TEACHING RESOURCE UNIT DEVELOPMENT OFFICER
 - COORDINATOR FOR ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (1)

QUALIFICATIONS:

- MB ChB (or equivalent)
- A higher degree (Masters or PhD Level)

Previous experience in any of the following would be an added advantage:

- Programme Management
- Developmental Work
- Medical Education

REMUNERATION

- The development post allowance will average £15,000 per annum, ranging from £12,000 to £18,000 depending on the post and responsibility and on the qualification and experience of the appointee.
- This remuneration is in addition to prevailing University salaries and fringe benefits.
- The benefit will be paid in hard currency to non-Zambian appointees and in the Kwacha equivalent to Zambian employees.
- The benefit will be paid monthly in arrears and will be subject to the normal GRZ taxation.

MODE OF APPLICATION:
For further details and official application for the posts, address all enquiries to: The Dean, University of Zambia, School of Medicine, P.O. Box 50110, Lusaka. Telephone (260 1) 250753; Fax: (260 1) 250753. All applications must be received by 15th May, 1996 for consideration.

REGIONAL DIRECTORS £36,177 London

Save the Children is the UK's largest international voluntary development agency concerned with children's rights. It works to achieve lasting benefits for children within the communities in which they live, by influencing policy and practice, based on its experience in different parts of the world.

Changes are taking place in Save the Children Fund. We are putting in place our Global Programme Strategy which will transform the way we work. We will be enhancing our focus on children and children's rights and bringing increased co-ordination to our programme work across the UK and Overseas. This will enable us to work with children and speak out for the rights of children on the basis of enhanced and good quality practical experience.

Reorganising our Programme Department into six regions, we are now appointing five (East Africa post has been filled) of the six key roles in international programme development.

The UK and Europe	South Asia
Latin America and Middle East	South-East Asia
West and Southern Africa	

You will have a key role as part of the senior team, accountable to the Director of Programmes, for shaping the strategic direction, formulating overall policy and ensuring we learn from our own experiences. You will also have the vital challenge of providing the overall strategic management and guidance to the regional programme activities, ensuring they are in line with the Global Programme Strategy and corporate priorities and objectives.

You will require extensive experience of staff management, strategic management and planning, financial management and control and influencing the external environment to ensure we effectively enhance programme management at this senior level in SCF and to build a stronger management culture.

The Regional Director of UK and Europe will need substantial strategic management experience of development work within the UK/European Union and Eastern European countries. All others require substantial direct strategic management experience of overseas development work.

Most importantly, you'll share our vision and total commitment to manage the changes that lie ahead of us as an international agency.

You will be based at London Headquarters (Wauxhall) and for 3 months of the year will travel overseas.

For a job specification and an application form, please write to Jackie Denton, Personnel Department, SCF, 17 Grove Lane, London SE5 8RD, or fax to 0171 703 2278. Please state if you wish to apply for the Overseas and/or UK/Europe Regional Director positions.

Closing date: 14th May 1996.
SCF aims to be an equal opportunities employer.

Working for a better world for children

TEFL Certificate & Diploma Courses
By Distance Learning
ESP (Business) courses also available.
The English Language Ctr, Standbrook Ha, Suite 3c, 2-5 Old Bond Street, London W1X 3TB

OCKENDEN VENTURE
Working to support refugees and displaced people in the UK and Overseas

OVERSEAS PROJECT MANAGER, ASIA
Based in Woking, Surrey
Salary £18,000 - £20,000 p.a.

The Ockenden Venture runs a variety of projects worldwide supporting refugees and displaced people, their host communities and returning refugees. The programme is currently managed by one person but it is now intended that the position be split geographically between Africa and Asia.

The Overseas Project Manager, Asia, will have administrative and managerial responsibility for a major programme in Pakistan/Afghanistan and on-going work in India and Vietnam. Programme development will form an important part of the workload and will cover initially Iran and Cambodia.

The successful candidate will have at least two years work experience with an NGO in the region, preferably with specific experience of Pakistan and Afghanistan, and a minimum of two years experience as an NGO desk officer including work with statutory funding sources. Proven financial, management and analytical skills are required. The post holder must be able to travel overseas for up to 12 weeks a year.

For a full description and further details please contact Mrs Pat Moseley, Personnel, The Ockenden Venture, Constitution Hill, Woking, Surrey, GU24 7UL.
Tel: +44 (0) 1483 77012 Fax: +44 (0) 1483 750774
Closing date for applications: 3rd May 1996

PROGRAM DIRECTOR

The International Human Rights Law Group is seeking a new Program Director to administer its Rule of Law and civil society programs in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Extensive travel required. Law Degree with minimum 15 years relevant experience; significant management experience; field experience in human rights and/or development projects; strong writing skills; experience with program design and fund-raising. French fluency and knowledge of civil code legal systems desirable. Extensive travel required. Salary range: \$58,000 to \$85,000. The search for this position has been re-opened. Previous applicants need not apply.

Contact Search Committee, IHRLG, 1601 Connecticut Ave, NW, Suite 700, Washington, D.C. 20008.

To place your advertisement
Tel: +44 (0) 161 834 8086 Fax: +44 (0) 161 839 4486
The Guardian Weekly, 164 Dearsgate, Manchester M60 2RR England

St CHRISTOPHER

A SCHOOL WITH A LONGTERM COMMITMENT TO OVERSEAS FAMILIES

At St Christopher School we have boarders from 8 to 18 from a wide range of cultural and national backgrounds. Our long experience helps us make a caring and supportive home life for such boys and girls. Overseas parents are represented on our well established Parents' Committee.

The School has been fully co-educational, boarding and vegetarian since 1916. Our campus has the informal atmosphere of a friendly village. Younger boarders live in family style houses with Houseparents and with breakfast, tea and supper taken in the boarding house. 6th Formers have student rooms.

We aim at good work and high ideals with lots of fun in the process. A full and challenging curriculum leads to 16 GCSE and 19 A Level courses with equal emphasis on arts and science. There are exceptional facilities for art, music, drama, computing and adventure training. We encourage self-confidence by valuing each child as an individual.

Entry considered at most levels from age 8 - 16

For more details, contact Susan Mellor, Admissions Secretary
Tel: 01482 878201 Fax: 01482 481878
St Christopher School
Letchworth, Herts SG8 3JZ
1 mile from A1(M), 35 minutes from Kings Cross
The School is an Educational Charity which aims to treat all children as individuals and to develop their proper self-confidence.

Bookpost Ltd
For all U.K. Books in Print
Any U.K. book in print sent anywhere worldwide at reasonable rates.
Full details from Alan Avery, Bookpost Ltd, Blackthorn House, Middleton Rd, Pickering, N Yorks, U.K. Tel/Fax/Ans 01761 478883 (24 Hour)

FEED THE CHILDREN
TAKING THE AID DIRECT

Country Director, Bosnia from £20000 pa

Feed the Children (FTC) is an international relief agency, taking aid to children in need. FTC(E) currently undertakes programmes in Bosnia, Albania, Haiti, Rwanda, Azerbaijan, Georgia & Armenia.

A Country Director is needed with overall responsibility for our Bosnia programme. The brief includes management of staff and the administrative and support activities required to define and achieve programme objectives. The key objective is the continued development of the programme, including the introduction of new activities in the context of a dynamic and changing political and social context.

Candidates should have 7 years relevant field experience with NGOs in overseas positions and will have expertise in defining programme needs, priorities and strategies. Educated to post graduate level with strong assessment and analytical skills, excellent interpersonal and leadership abilities are crucial in this post.

To apply (only shortlisted candidates will be contacted) please send your CV with covering letter, by April 29th, 1996 to James Davidson, Overseas Personnel Manager at:

Feed the Children [Europe]
82 Caversham Road
Reading RG1 5AE
Fax +44 (0)1734 881 230
email 100823.3025@compuserve.com.

ASSOCIATION OF COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITIES

UNIVERSITY	POST	REF. NO.
Africa and the Caribbean		
Botswana	L. Chemistry Education	W44877
Botswana	L. Extra Mural Unit	W44878
Botswana	L. Science, Distance Education Unit	W44879
Botswana	L. Humanities, Distance Education Unit	W44880
Botswana	AP/SL. Political & Administrative Studies	W44901
Botswana	L. Hydraulics	W44887
MEQUNSA (South Africa)	SL Clinical Pharmacy	W44885
NUST Zimbabwe	AP/SLA. Accounting	W44870
NUST Zimbabwe	AP/SLA. Applied Mathematics	W44871
NUST Zimbabwe	AP/SLA. Computer Science	W44881
West Indies (Guyana)	Law Revision Commissioner	W44887
West Indies (Jamaica)	STF Public Finance/Policy	W44889
Australia		
ANU (Canberra)	L. International Relations	W44888
La Trobe (Melbourne)	Chair Tourism & Hospitality	W44889
Queensland	L/L. Computer Engineering	W44888
Queensland	SL/L. Electronics & Communication	W44887
RMIT (Melbourne)	P & Head, Department of Communication Studies	W44906
Hong Kong		
Hong Kong Baptist Univ.	P/AP/ASP Music	W44892
Hong Kong Baptist Univ.	ASP Biology	W44893
Univ. Hong Kong	D University Museum & Art Gallery	W44896
Univ. Hong Kong	SL/L. Pharmacology	W44874
Univ. Hong Kong	L. Industrial & Manufacturing Systems Engineering	W44883
Univ. Hong Kong	SL/L. Mathematics	W44884
Univ. Hong Kong	L. Law	W44902
Univ. Hong Kong	L. Mechanics of Solids	W44908
New Zealand		
Auckland	Chair Anatomical Pathology	W44897
Auckland	SL/L. Statistics	W44898
Auckland	L. Psychology	W44899
Auckland	Clinical Tutors Optometry	W44900
Canterbury	L. Zoology	W44903
Otago (Dunedin)	L. Statistics	W44872
Otago (Dunedin)	L. Marine Science	W44873
Otago (Dunedin)	SL. Physiotherapy	W44890
Otago (Dunedin)	SL/L. Physical Education (Biomechanics)	W44891
Pacific		
South Pacific (Fiji)	Editor - University Extension	W44875
South Pacific (Fiji)	SL/L. Physics of the Marine Environment	W44876
South Pacific (Fiji)	Assistant Librarian	W44894
South Pacific (Fiji)	L. Business Law	W44895
South Pacific (Fiji)	L. Economics	W44896
Rest of the World		
Aga Khan (Pakistan)	Chair Community Health Sciences	W44892
United Kingdom	P Environmental Studies	W44898

Abbreviation: D - Director; P - Professor; AP - Associate Professor; ASP - Assistant Professor; SL - Senior Lecturer; L - Lecturer; AL - Associate Lecturer; STF - Senior Teaching Fellow.

For further details of any of the above staff vacancies please contact the Appointments Department, ACU, 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF, UK (Internat. tel. +44 171 813 3024 [24 hour answerphone]; fax +44 171 813 3055; e-mail: apps@acu.ac.uk), quoting reference number of post(s). Details will be sent by airmail/first class post. A sample copy of the publication *Appointments in Commonwealth Universities*, including subscription details, is available from the same source.

Promoting educational co-operation throughout the Commonwealth



NATIONAL DIRECTOR: CARE AUSTRALIA

In the second half of 1998, CARE Australia will be appointing a new National Director.

The current Chief Executive, Tony Eggleton (formerly Secretary-General of CARE International), returned from Brussels in 1995 specifically to take charge of, and consolidate, CARE Australia. With the restructuring phase now near completion, Mr. Eggleton wishes to hand over to a new, permanent National Director by the end of this year.

CARE Australia is fully operational and is one of Australia's foremost developmental and emergency response agencies, providing humanitarian assistance to many parts of the world. With its Head Office in Canberra, CARE Australia operates in Asia, the Pacific, Africa, the Middle East and former Yugoslavia. CARE Australia is a member of the CARE International confederation, the world's biggest emergency relief and development organisation.

Applicants for the National Director's position should have the experience, skills and commitment to manage and lead a dynamic operational, aid and relief organisation. Salary and conditions will be commensurate with the seniority of the position and the experience of the appointee.

Applications (marked confidential) should be lodged with the National Director at CARE Australia, GPO Box 2014, Canberra, ACT, Australia, 2601 by Friday 24 May.

The successful candidate will work alongside Mr Eggleton for a limited transitional period prior to the end of 1998, after which Mr. Eggleton will be joining the Board of CARE Australia.



Computer Advisor

International Infrastructure Based in Oxford
Contract - 3 years £17,498 - £20,323 per annum

Oxford plans to accelerate the development of its electronic communications and email systems to support the International programme. Email is currently in use in 37 of our international offices (approx 55%). Users range from computer-ally to sophisticated; hardware from antique to modern. Using X.25 & Internet services, within the constraints of available telecommunications resources, we plan to make available locally sustainable and robust communications systems.

We are looking for an energetic, committed IT professional with significant experience. On the basis of significant experience of local and wide area networks as well as electronic communications with remote sites using dialup and Internet technologies.

Candidates will be able to:
- specify, install, maintain and train on network components and software
- diagnose and remedy technical problems
- support and train non-technical users in communications software
Experience of working in non-European and non-OECD countries and/or the NGO sector and knowledge of a foreign language would be an advantage.

Oxford particularly welcome applications from disabled people.
For further details and an application form, please send a large SAE to: International Human Resources, OXFAM, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford, OX2 7DZ quoting ref number: OS/1/CA/IST/GW. Closing date 17 May 1998. Interview date: to be arranged.

Oxfam UK and Ireland is a member of Oxfam International. Oxfam works with poor people in their struggle against hunger, disease, exploitation and poverty in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East through relief, development, research and public education.



University of Durham

**DEPARTMENT OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES
Language Instructor in Japanese**

Available from 1 October 1998, for one year initially, with the possibility of extension to a maximum of three years. Applicants should be native speakers of Japanese with experience of teaching a foreign language (preferably Japanese to non-native speakers). Applicants should be prepared to participate fully in the on-going development of a competency-based language curriculum. The additional ability to teach Korean language, Japanese literature, or Classical Japanese will all be considered advantages.

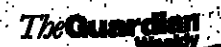
Informal enquiries may be made to Dr W T McClure, Department of East Asian Studies, (tel: 0191 374 3246 e-mail: w.t.mcclure@durham.ac.uk). Salary (under review) will be £14,317 - £16,896 per annum. Closing date: 20 May 1998.

Further details and an application form may be obtained from the Director of Personnel, University of Durham, Old Shire Hall, Durham DE1 3HP (tel: 0191 374 7285, fax 0191 374 7283 or e-mail: Acsp@Recruit@durham.ac.uk). Please quote reference number AS87.

Advertisements

It is a condition of acceptance of advertisement orders that the advertiser warrants the accuracy of any particular advertisement on a specified date, or at all, although every effort will be made to meet the wishes of advertisers, before they do not accept liability for any error or damage caused by an error or inaccuracy in the printing or reproduction of any advertisement. It also reserves the right to discontinue any advertisement, edit or delete any objectionable wording or reject any advertisement.

Although every advertisement is carefully checked, occasionally mistakes do occur. We therefore ask advertisers to assist us by checking their advertisements carefully and advising us immediately should an error occur. We regret that we cannot accept responsibility for more than ONE INCORRECT insertion and that no repetition will be granted in the case of hypothetical or minor changes which do not affect the value of an advertisement.



It is 10 years since Chernobyl, the world's worst environmental disaster. A 40-year-old Irishwoman has raised more money for its victims than the entire United Nations. Adi Roche talks to **Maggie O'Kane**

To Russia with love

AN ICELANDIC millionaire was about to board his private plane on Christmas Eve last year when an airport official came running across the tarmac. There was an urgent call for him. The woman on the other end of the phone was very insistent he should come back into the terminal and take it — she said it was an emergency. The woman on the phone asked the millionaire if he remembered her from a conference in Barcelona. "You told me you had a plane and you could fly. There are three children near Chernobyl that have to be airlifted for emergency operations on tumours. If you don't do it, they'll die."

The millionaire cancelled Christmas and one of the children Adi Roche saved is now having his nappy changed in front of the fire in her Cork home. Alexei is a perfect 10-month-old boy — except for a hole the size of a golf ball where his eye should have been and where a giant malignant tumour grew instead. And the little mark where the finger growing from his chin was removed.

Adi Roche has raised \$9 million for the victims of Chernobyl — more than the entire United Nations, which has managed just \$1.5 million, despite an appeal to all the governments of the world. Her latest venture is a \$3 million convoy which set off from Dublin this week for the city of Minsk to mark the 10th anniversary of the world's worst environmental disaster. It is thought to be the biggest aid convoy to cross Europe and includes 34 ambulances: Roche will be at the helm.

This summer, 900 children from Chernobyl will arrive in Ireland for a two-week holiday, thanks to the Chernobyl Children's Project, which Roche started. After that, she is considering going to the International Court of Justice in the Hague in order to establish the principle that people classed as environmental refugees should have the right to seek medical treatment outside their own country.



Adi Roche with one of the children she has helped... You can change the world if you change yourself and what you do. PHOTO: IRISH TIMES

lines suit went to an anti-nuclear rally and listened to the founder of the Green Party, Petra Kelly. "She touched a chord in my soul."

Adi Roche seems strangely out of place in the modern world, with her talk of justice, honour and hope. "I am an ordinary person," she says. "I didn't go to university, train for this job. I suppose I believe you can change the world if you want to change yourself and what you do. I want to know why something has happened and how to stop it happening again."

She has spent the past five years going in and out of one of the world's most poisoned patches of land — Chernobyl's Death Valley — to bring aid supplies and organise the evacuation of children for two-week breaks with Irish families. A 1995 report to the UN estimates that 2 million children live in that

Having children of her own is, Roche says, no longer an option. "I've been into Death Valley six times now," she says — within a mile of the deadly reactor where the radiation will remain for an estimated 25,000 years. "I wouldn't risk having children because of the danger of deformities. I made the decision about that a long time ago." All her energies are devoted to the children of Chernobyl.

Ireland, which is the largest aid donor in the western world per head of population, is right behind Adi Roche. All the political parties have tried to persuade her to stand for parliament but she has refused them all, preferring to exploit her contacts with each.

She believes the Irish people's response to disaster appeals has something to do with the national psyche. "I feel it goes right back to the famine. People respond to crisis; they always give more than any other Western country because it touches something in our own history and because we remember being helped by people like the American Indians who heard through the Quakers who worked with them that we were starving, and sent aid."

There are bad times for Roche, of course — during these, she escapes along the three-mile road to Rathcooney graveyard outside Cork City, sometimes chalking the problem on the soles of her shoes and "walking it all off". But there are also good times, special moments like when the first 100 children who needed medical attention were flown into Cork airport and the door of the plane opened to the ground staff singing them off.

Alexei, the child she persuaded the Icelandic millionaire to airlift out, spent the first few months of his short life watching from his good right eye as a giant membrane the size of an orange swelled in front of his face and slithered towards his brain. Following an operation, his chances are now good. Roche's sister, Helen, has begun the process of adopting him.

Chernobyl Children's Project, 8 Sloneville, Bellevue Park, St Luke's, Cork City, Republic of Ireland, tel 00 353 215 06411

CLASSIFIED

CAR HIRE

MARTINS The Car Hire Specialists
Personal meet & greet service at Heathrow & Gatwick Airports
Tel: +44 1256 843036
+44 1256 24448
Quote ref: GDWV396

LONDON HOTELS & APARTMENTS

MODERN SERVICE APARTMENTS FROM £65 per night
Self-contained, fully serviced apartments in Kensington - close to park, shops, buses and subway. Colour TV, telephone, equipped kitchen, central heating, modern comfort on reasonable rates. Car Park. Brochure by return mail. Quote RA 112.
Special Winter Rates November - April from £47 per night.
CHALFONT (KENSINGTON) LTD
198 202 KENSINGTON CHURCH STREET, LONDON W8 4DP ENGLAND
Tel: (0) 171 228 8771 / 228 3068 Fax: (0) 171 727 7595
Telex: 282433 (ref: 282434)

LONDON TOURIST FLATS (Wimbledon)

5 mins. station, self-contained, fully equipped, £190-£220/week, depending on size and season, 2 weeks minimum.
17 St. Mary's Road, London SW19 7BZ
Tel: +44 181 847 0673 Fax: +44 181 848 8798

REGENT CAR RENTAL
Flying into Heathrow? Your passport to the open road
Tel: +44 181 759 4180
+44 181 759 4190

The MARTINS Car Hire Specialists

44 1256 843036
44 1256 24448
Quote ref: GDWV396
To place your advertisement Tel: +44(0) 181 834 8086 Fax: +44(0) 181 834 4456

PAMBER CAR HIRE U.K.

ROVER METRO	£90	FORD MONDEO 1.6	£128
FORD FIESTA	£108	PEUGEOT 408	£180
ROVER 214	£120	FORD MONDEO 1.8/2.0 LX	£170
FORD SCORPIO 1.8L	£120	PEUGEOT 408 1.8	£180
ROVER 418 & 218	£130	NOVA 820 SL	£170
FORD MONDEO 1.6	£130	FORD GRANADA	£208
PEUGEOT 408	£180	NOVA 850 SL	£210
NOVA 220	£180		

NEW CARS: OLD PRICES

PRICES FROM £99 PER WEEK
LOW, LOW PRICES. GREAT SERVICE FROM A WORLDWIDE COMPANY. INFLUENTIAL RATES. WIDE RANGE OF VEHICLES. OVER 60 LOCATIONS NATIONWIDE.
CALL, WRITE OR FAX TO OUR CENTRAL RESERVATIONS:
TELEPHONE: 01494 442 110 FACSIMILE: 01494 474 732

Letter from British Columbia Melanie Watts

Settling down

SITTING INSIDE. I look out at the brown landscape, the leafless trees and the still dormant grass. Early morning sun shines down on the Puschkinias, tiny spring bulbs. Soon the 18 acres of hay that stretch out in front of the house will be blooming and I, watery eyed and sneezing, will be wishing for the carbon monoxide filled streets of the city.

It was 11 years ago when we packed up our stereo, records and books to move north to Tomslake. We were only leaving temporarily; a short hiatus meant to establish us in our chosen professions. Then armed with obligatory work experience we could come back to continue our real lives in the city. But somehow our convictions were slowly and gently wooed away.

Local history is defined by one's family place on the geographical map. It is rich in anecdotes held together by a people sharing a common love for the land which gave them their livelihood.

During the summer of 1939 the Sudeten settlers started to arrive. These people, persecuted by Hitler because of their socialist values, were refugees of the Munich agreement. The British government under Chamberlain struck a deal with Hitler and gave them \$1,000 to come to Canada.

The establishment of these people was under the supervision of the Canada Colonisation Association, a subsidiary of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. The Peace river area of northern British Columbia was one of the areas set aside for them. A trust fund was established to feed, house and clothe them until they could eke out a living from farming. The Ranch, as it came to be called, grew from 16,000 acres to 23,628 acres. The Sudeten settlers were largely professionals and in a land where winter lasts for the better part of eight months, proficiency in unaccustomed farming tasks must have been difficult to acquire.

Our place is on Krantz road, named, of course, after the family who live at the end. Living as we do 48km from the nearest metropolis, a town called Dawson Creek which has a population of 13,000, our bucolic life centres around the com-

munity. At first this showed itself in polite concern for the baby who had asthma. Then as he grew up it became apparent that he was allergic to peanuts; his goody bag at the Christmas party was filled with an extra ration of lollipops to make up for the peanuts which had surreptitiously been removed.

Last winter, on the way back from a shopping trip the car slid on a patch of ice in the driveway and skidded into a snow bank. Since tow trucks are not easy to come by and expensive, I hoisted the groceries on to my shoulders and walked down to the house. When my husband got home I reasoned, our combined strengths would be enough to dislodge it. However, I was astonished half an hour later to see the car sitting in its usual spot next to the fence.

The mystery was solved three weeks later. Tom stopping by on his way to check on some cows, told us that he and his brother Elvin had come over the hill behind me. Spying the car in its difficult position they had simply got out and moved it. Then, requiring no thanks or confirmation of their good deed, they continued on with their business.

ELEVEN YEARS is more than a lifetime for my two children. The seven-year-old, who thinks that school wastes his time, took me to the barn to see the swing he had made out of rope, a piece of wood and baler twine. The twine was necessary, he said, in order to ensure the swing was strong enough to hold his weight. However, he cautioned me against trying it out.

The children attend the elementary school 10km away which currently has 64 students. If life is community-based, the school is its hub. The Parents Association, started in 1948, provided the catalyst for the Sudeten's integration with the existing community. Today, parents raise money for the annual school picnic, grade seven farewell dinner and the Christmas concert.

A hot lunch programme was started in 1976. The cooking is done by volunteer mothers and runs from November to the spring break. Somehow the notion that "Small is beautiful" does not seem like such a bad idea after all.

A Country Diary

Mary Bird

SAUDI ARABIA: We were driving along a track in a long, narrow wadi east of Jizan. Although the track led to a tiny farm at the head of the wadi, we were not going that far. We were there to see the birds that migrate from Africa to this corner of Arabia. The roughness of the track was no deterrent as we expected to be richly rewarded for our efforts.

The wadi was little wider than the track, its steep, rocky sides covered with green shrubs and herbs, many of them in flower. Such an idyllic spot was bound to be full of birds and we saw a wide variety including a flock of Bruce's green pigeons that erupted from a wild fig tree as we passed.

Despite their vivid colouring, grey-green above and brilliant yellow underneath, these birds

are completely invisible when roosting in the densely leafy fig trees. Later in the summer, as the figs ripen, the pigeons eat the fruit.

When we stopped the car we saw a Jacobin cuckoo, a striking black and white bird that is a summer breeding visitor to south-western Arabia. This one was being roundly scolded by a bulbul. As Jacobin cuckoos are believed to be parasites in the nests of bulbuls it was hardly surprising the bird was upset.

Walking along and looking about, I realised that the hillside above was alive with hyraxes. These furry, rabbit-sized, tail-less relatives of the elephant are not uncommon in the mountainous parts of Arabia but they are extremely shy and hard to spot. Suddenly, a piercing shriek stopped me in my tracks and within seconds there was not a hyrax to be seen.



On the buses... coaches entering Florence are to be cut by 70 per cent — still leaving 150 a day in a city with a population smaller than Edinburgh's

Florence asks culture vultures to book ahead

John Hooper

VISITORS to Florence this summer will have to book in advance to see its art treasures, if the city council gets its way.

The plan forms part of a drastic programme being implemented by Florence's centre-left council to relieve pressure on one of the world's most congested tourist destinations.

On an average day in high season, Florence — with a population smaller than Edinburgh's — receives 50,000 visitors. Some 500 coaches jam into the city, most of them illegally parked. Last week councilors ordered a 70 per cent cut in the number of coaches entering the city's historic centre.

Guido Clemente, the councillor responsible for heritage, said that central government permission was needed for the reservations-only scheme because several galleries and museums — notably the Uffizi

— were owned and run by the state. But the go-ahead could be given by the end of the month.

Mr Clemente said he had been prompted to act by 450m queues snaking across the Piazza della Signoria from the Uffizi gallery. "By the time you get in there, you don't want to see anything any more," he said.

The Uffizi houses a collection built up by the Medici rulers between the 16th and 18th centuries, which includes Botticelli's Spring and Birth of Venus and works by Leonardo da Vinci, Cimabue, Giotto and others.

A car bomb three years ago, which killed five people and injured 50, hit the Uffizi particularly hard, destroying three important 16th century paintings and damaging countless others. Although no one was ever charged with the crime, it was widely believed to be the work of elements in the Italian state unhappy with the progress made by

the "clean hands" anti-corruption campaign.

Details of the proposed tourist arrangements have yet to be settled. "For groups, at least, we should be able to have a booking for a particular day at a particular time," Mr Clemente said.

Individuals' tickets would grant right of entry at any time. But they would be bought on entering the city, not at the door.

The scheme also envisages multi-entry passes, giving tourists access to several galleries and museums. "It won't eliminate the problems, but it should improve matters," Mr Clemente said.

His plan highlights the problems faced by cities like Florence from the never-ending rise in "cultural tourists". The prosperity spread by Asia is one factor pushing up numbers, now that worldwide recession has faded.

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

WHYS IS it that lots of people used to be very leftwing when they were young and are now quite rightwing; but hardly anyone goes the other way?

PEOPLE take ideological stances out of either high-minded principle or materialistic self-interest. The former rarely change; they merely sophisticate their views. The latter change when their circumstances do. In recent times most UK citizens have become more prosperous with age; their views become more conservative out of greed and fear. However, in the next decade or so, as more and more elderly people descend into poverty and misery, you will find more and more examples of right-to-left movement. — D Harridge, Bristol

AS PEOPLE get older their stomachs broaden and their minds narrow. — Kevin Buckley, Kingsley Green, Cheshire

WERE native Americans' smoke signals myth or fact? If fact, what range of information could they convey?

THE book Indian Sign Language by William Tomkins (Dover)

uses as its source the Museum of the American Indian in New York. "Inasmuch as they aimed to transmit secret knowledge, many of the signs were devised privately and to suit a particular purpose or the caprice of the transmitter. There were, however, certain more or less recognised abstract smoke signals. One puff meant 'Attention', two meant 'All's well'. Three puffs of smoke, or three fires in a row, signifies 'Danger', 'Trouble' or a call for help." — M Brooks, Pittsburgh, USA

WHERE is the oldest surviving manuscript copy of Plato's Republic? How do we know it is accurate?

APART from papyrus fragments, the earliest surviving text of The Republic is a passage from Book 9 included with a compilation of heterodox Christian texts in 12 papyrus volumes. They were buried in a jar in the late 4th century in Egypt and discovered in 1945. The translation into Coptic is so inept that it was not recognised as the work of Plato until 1974. The volumes are now in the Coptic Museum in Cairo.

The oldest complete Greek text is a 9th century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Apart

from copying errors, textual variations are very few and none significantly alter the sense of what is said. — Tom Hennell, Manchester

WHICH is the worst line of poetry in English literature?

MY VOTE goes to Canadian poet and politician Joseph Howe (1804-1873) who wrote in his long narrative poem "Arcadia" (1874): "The gay moose in jocund gambol springs." — Winnifred M Bogaards, Saint John, New Brunswick, Canada

Any answers?

WHEN was wine first put in bottles and corked and what is the earliest extant bottle of wine still undrunk? — Andy Richardson, Trinity College, Dublin

IS IT true that Dick Turpin was buried standing upright. If so, why? — Jas Bryan, Merseyside

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ.

Jungle fever

Howard French in Gabon asks why the Ebola virus is surfacing in African rainforests

THE FOREST is so thick at the edge of Evela, a tiny Gabon settlement, that even the Ntem River, a sizeable Central African waterway, is obscured in the riotous greenery. Asked what lies beyond, a Fang villager shrugs and says "nothing".

From time immemorial, the Fang — one of the Bantu peoples who make up the bulk of Central Africa's population — have considered this area as the edge of the world. But the land beyond has always been home to small groups of Pygmies whose hunting-and-gathering livelihood has remained unchanged through the years. Until now.

The equatorial forest, inhabited by Gabon's Pygmies, is at the heart of Africa's last intact belt of rainforest. But now its 40,000 inhabitants are facing a change of pace far greater than anyone has yet grasped.

A dozen kilometres away, convoys of lumber trucks are bringing material to French-led crews laying paved roads that will open up the area as never before. In the capital, Libreville, and the headquarters of European logging companies, plans are afoot for the forest's exploitation.

At the same time, groups such as the World Wide Fund for Nature and the World Bank are mounting efforts to inventory the huge catalogue of plant and animal species and identify areas for strict conservation on Gabon's last frontier for commercial forestry.

With its sparse population and dense canopy still intact, international environmental experts say that what happens in this jungle in Gabon will be an important bellwether for Africa's last major belt of relatively pristine rainforest, an area that stretches from the continent's

equatorial coast across Gabon and well into the Congo River basin in Zaïre.

An American environmentalist, Kathryn Simons, who is studying conservation efforts in Gabon, points to the money that is being spent in places like Brazil — to rescue already devastated forests.

"In Central Africa, where relatively little has been done so far," she says, "we have a unique opportunity to save a major tropical forest before it is destroyed."

Although northern Gabon still boasts some of Central Africa's densest remaining woodlands, such as the Minkébé forest, both experts and residents forecast an endangered future. Major logging companies and sawmills have not made it this far, but to the south and east of Evela small operators are already searching for Okoume, the tree species used for plywood. And wildcat gold miners, too, are felling trees, digging pits and dumping mercury and other highly toxic chemicals in the ground or in streams.

A two-week hike away from Evela, along ancient footpaths watched by tree leopards, live Pygmies who have never set eyes on Westerners. But they are now being drawn into the life of modern Africa and its cash economy.

Throughout Gabon, wild game is a delicacy. And in towns like nearby Minvoul, Pygmies wait for city folk or Bantu agriculturists to hire their services as master hunters of the prized forest elephants.

Armed with shotguns and a few shells each, the hunters can spend weeks in a forest teeming with wildlife. The estimated 65,000 elephants are the most prized game in a vast array of potential targets.

Pygmy hunters say their prizes include 10m ba constrictors, antelopes, gorillas, porcupines, boars and monkeys of all kinds. But although the variety is rich, the Pygmies' search for game becomes more difficult each year as the hunting parties multiply.



Under threat... Gorillas are being felled by a mysterious affliction

"When we were young men, the hunt was done with arrows," says Omer Amaya, a 58-year-old hunter whose settlement is at the edge of Minvoul. "We could go out for eight or nine hours and come home with a big catch. Nowadays you must walk for at least three days before even seeing anything interesting."

For the hunters, the reason for this increasing scarcity is that their hunting has thinned game populations. "Wherever the barrel of the gun belches, the animals will try to avoid," said Hilarion Mikou. "After a time, the animals will come back."

For environmental experts, however, the picture is more complex. "These forests are still primary forests in their structure, but already they are being exploited," says Marc Languy, a forest expert with the World Wide Fund for Nature. "We have noted a decrease of 80 per cent in chimpanzee populations. If it is true that they can rebound, this is a process that might take 15 or 20 years."

The recent outbreak of the deadly Ebola virus in Mayibout, another Bantu outpost in the forest 200km south-east of Evela, has

highlighted another possible consequence of forest encroachment. Last year the virus killed 20 people in Gabon and 244 in the Zaïrean town of Kikwit. Some experts warn that opening the forest, where unidentified animals could be harbouring the disease, could unleash another epidemic. The origins of the virus are not known, but it is presumed to have a natural host in the forest which infects primates. Those who died had recently feasted on chimpanzee meat.

According to scientists at a major international conference in Kinshasa, Zaïre, last month, environmental damage to previously pristine forest areas caused this major health threat.

"In Gabon, gold prospectors went deep into the forest, cut down trees and destroyed part of this environment. This gave rise to the emergence of the virus," says Jean-Jacques Muyembe, a Zaïrean, researching Ebola. Pygmy hunters, meanwhile, say they have recently come across increasing numbers of dead gorillas and chimpanzees felled by a mysterious affliction.

"We've never seen this before," says Mikou. "A big game animal that fears nothing is just dropping dead."

Conservation groups are marshalling an effort to save Gabon's northern forests from the heavy logging taking place elsewhere in this country but tropical wood interests may have the upper hand already.

A Dutch concern known as Wijma has just secured rights to more than 1 million acres of the Minkébé forest. And Gabon's president, Omar Bongo, has roped off another 542,000 acres of virgin forest for logging, to the south of Minkébé.

"This is the last place that good supplies of wood are left in the country," said Pierre Mezui M'Eye, a government forest inspector based in the provincial capital of Oyem.

"Right now, no one seems to know what kind of wealth there is here, but once the first commercial permits are issued, you will see a flood of applications. Then it is only a matter of time before the Minkébé is destroyed."

Chronicler of un-American activities

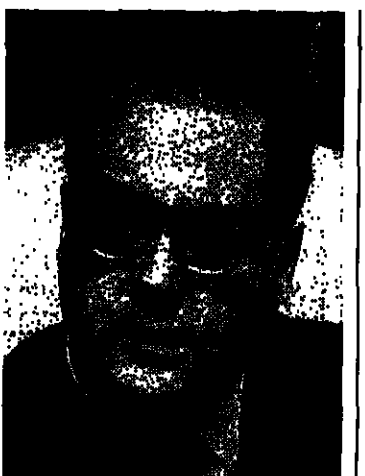
OBITUARY

Richard Condon

BACK IN the late 1950s, Richard Condon's mid-life crisis took tangible form as three duodenal ulcers. At that time Condon, who has died aged 81, was a successful Hollywood publicist. His wife told him that either he did something else or he would chew up his entire intestinal tract. So, in 1958, his first novel, The Oldest Confession, was published. The film rights went within a month.

The film, The Happy Thieves, with Rita Hayworth and Rex Harrison, was dreadful. By then it didn't matter. Condon's second novel, The Manchurian Candidate, published in 1959, imbued the writer with a cult status that persisted through his subsequent career.

Condon produced 24 successful novels in the years that followed, including An Infinity of Mirrors (1964), Mile High (1969), and Winter Kills (1974); but it was only in the early eighties, with the darkly funny mafia novel Prizzi's Honour — and movie with Jack Nicholson, Kathleen Turner and Anjelica Huston — that the Candidate's long shadow was lifted.



Condon: cult status

The Manchurian Candidate was a child of McCarthyism and the cold war. It dealt with Raymond Shaw, an American prisoner-of-war brainwashed in Korea, who returns to the United States primed for a political assassination. At the time Condon wrote it, the red-baiting senator from Wisconsin, Joseph McCarthy, had just died and his legacy was an open wound on the American body politic and a presence in his mind.

By 1982, the novel had become a John Frankenheimer-directed film

with Laurence Harvey, Angela Lansbury and Frank Sinatra. It was, Condon observed later, the "sweetest translation" ever made between one of his books and the screen.

The Manchurian Candidate, born of fifties' preoccupations, was refracted through the cusp into sixties' film images: witty, scaring, and, as it turned out with JFK's assassination in 1963, coldly prophetic. Where there had been a tortured Laurence Harvey on screen, there was Lee Harvey Oswald — "I'm just a patsy" — in Dallas.

Apart from 18 months in Los Angeles, Condon spent the first 42 years of his life in his native New York. He grew up in Washington Heights, across the East River from Manhattan. It was a melting pot for Germans, Italians and the Irish. Its geographical situation paralleled Condon's development "as a writer, an amused, sceptic realist watching the great powers of society at work, but from a distance."

The meeting point between politics, crime and money was an abiding obsession. He saw the political spectacle of American life as an endless series of beautifully decorated river barges. "Around the bend comes the Joe McCarthy barge. Everybody is interested, they ap-

plaud, and it slips out of sight downstream. Or you get the Iran-Contra barge, with everyone thrilled and titillated, or the presidential election barge, and that is just wonderful."

Condon, the son of a lawyer and a Brooklyn woman, was the rich kid on the block. His adolescence coincided with both the New Deal and the corrupt politics of the Tammany Hall Democrats. As a 15-year-old, he was paid to herd drunks out of Third Avenue saloons and into the polling booths. Two years later, he was going round the world as a waiter on a cruise line; jobs as a lift operator and hotel clerk followed.

By the late thirties, he was an advertising copywriter. In 1938 he married Evelyn Hunt a "Powers Girl" model and through her he entered the movie business as a publicist. He spent more than five years at Disney followed by 20th Century Fox. He worked, he said, for every studio apart from MGM and Warner.

With his success as a writer, Condon and his family set off across the world. During the ensuing "three decades" they lived in Mexico, Switzerland, France and Ireland before settling in Dallas in 1980. Between The Manchurian Candidate and Prizzi's Honour his record in the movies was mixed.

The Beatles bought and dropped A Talent For Loving in the mid-sixties. In 1979 Winter Kills, an

eminently plausible fantasia on the Kennedy assassination, became a film with Jeff Bridges as the president's brother, and Condon's friend, John Huston, as the murderous family patriarch. It ran into "distribution difficulties" and closed almost as it opened.

The novels continued into the nineties, with The Final Addiction, featuring a character with some faint resemblances to Dan Quayle, in 1991, and Prizzi's Money in 1993.

Condon did not boast any special knowledge of the Mafia; anyone who was in American slow-business, he believed, would make contacts of a sort. And then there was his experience of New Yorkers during his first four decades: they were people who talked fast, moved fast, thought in terms of sharp angles, wasted fast, and where they went the country followed.

Times have changed since the days of his youth and Tammany Hall, he said recently. "The contumacious is so much better. Today they are so much more — well, like beautiful hookers. As for me, I'm for home and mother and all those good qualities." He laughed. "I've just been disillusioned."

Nigel Fountain

Richard Condon, author, born March 18, 1915; died April 9, 1996

At the tornado's eye of human frailty

Goya depicted a terrifying vision of hell on earth. Adrian Searle reports from the Prado 250 years after the artist's birth

FRANCISCO de Goya y Lucientes was the fiercest, most tender, most sarcastic and compassionate visual chronicler of his age, of the vexations of his country and of the temperament of his time. The 250th anniversary of the artist's birth on March 30, 1746, at Fuendetodos, near Saragossa, is currently being celebrated at the Prado in Madrid until June 2.



Man alone... Goya's The Execution of The Defenders Of Madrid

PHOTOGRAPH: BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

Yet the show does contain some of Goya's finest works — Bartolome Sureda, with his red-lined top hat, his heavy-lidded, indolent eyes, his throat-throbbing cravat; La Marquesa De Pontejos, with her flowers and satins, and her ugly dog; the nude and clothed Majas; The Colossus, striding the Pyrenees as though to protect Spain against Napoleon. Many will be familiar to regular visitors to the Prado.

Complaints about the arrangement of the works and the exhibition's design — which have been rife in the Spanish press — seem like nit-picking. There are omissions one misses sorely and there are also, perhaps, too many of the interminable number of cartoons for tapestries that Goya was obliged to produce, and frequently complained about, for the Royal Tapestry Factory.

But Goya is still Goya, even in these works, with their endless hunters and dogs and bucolic rustics. For all their depictions of fiestas and picnics, games and amusements, these are not always entirely happy scenes — they are seen instead with an eye for the disturbed and uneasy. A girl's face glowing under the filtered afternoon light of her parasol; two cats snarling at one another on a ledge; indolent smokers; a brawl outside an inn — in them all, Goya gives more than his royal patrons might hope or even wish for. So, too, with his royal portraits: Goya invests his subjects not only with regal pomp, but with pomposity, painting their hubris and their stupidity.

The leading painter of the Spanish court, Goya held on to his position throughout the invasions and routs, and the constitutional reversals of the Peninsular wars during which a quarter of a million Spaniards lost their lives. He portrayed the horrors of war and the horrors in his own head. Sometimes the two became indistinguishable.

In 1792 he fell ill, and was left deaf for the rest of his life. He wrote, in a letter to the Academy: "In nature, I can only distinguish luminous and dark bodies, planes that come forward and planes that move away, reliefs and concavities. My eye can never perceive lines or details, and I never think of counting the hairs on a pedestrian's beard or the buttons on his coat. Such trifles never distract my attention. And my brush must never see more or better than me." Goya saw, perhaps, too much, and expressed a desire to give vent to fantasy, to go beyond the constraints of his commissioned works.

Goya witnessed the cataclysms of his age and understood perfectly the contradictions within Spanish society between enlightenment and superstition. Everything he painted or drew he depicted with a complete lack of sentimentality, and yet everything he touched was full of feeling. He was a draftsman and etcher of prodigious folios, depicting gross and absurd scenes of human folly. He inked and etched

and drew prostitutes and pimps, deformed babies, madmen and gluttons, a man in love with his own hennin, a bearded woman sucking her baby. He recorded bestial acts, including the beginnings of the Spanish war of independence, in 1808, when the citizens rose in revolt against Napoleon's invasion. In painting Execution Of The Defenders Of Madrid, 3rd May 1808, Goya commemorated the mass shootings by the French on the hill of Principe Pio.

He singled out one ordinary man facing the firing squad. Caught in a shock of light, he raises his arms in dismay and terror. It is a gesture of the utmost futility.

G OYA would seem to be the quintessential artist of his time, a painter of court portraits and generals, beautiful women, clerics, doctors, peasant children and their pets. Yet, in a recent essay, the writer Rafael Argullol wrote that "Goya is the vortex of modern painting, right at the tornado's eye".

In 1819 he bought the Quinta del Sordo (the house of the deaf man), just outside Madrid. Already in a kind of internal exile of the soul, his head loud with tinnitus, Goya began decorating the walls with 14 images painted only for himself, for his own

delectation. He painted aspects of a kind of hell — a monstrous wild-eyed Saturn eating his children (perhaps an image of Spain, devouring its progeny); two men beating each other with cutgels. He painted nocturnal processions, a witch's sabbath, a floating world of insanities and insane grimaces. "No one before him went so far in the field of grotesque reality," wrote Baudelaire. "All these misshapen, heavily faced and contorted evil grins are profoundly human... It is difficult to be precise on the point in which reality and fantasy become confounded. The border between them is drawn and crossed in such a way that it is impossible for us to discover it: the art it conceals is both natural and transcendental."

For Argullol, Goya's hell is a hell not of images but of form, and formlessness. It is not the images themselves that are terrifying, but their plasticity, their near-dissolution into nothingness, blankness, the mud of paint.

In 1823 he bequeathed his house to his grandson, and ended his days in Bordeaux, where he had arrived in 1824 "dof, old, clumsy and weak, without a word of French, and without a valet", according to a fellow exile. Goya died in 1828. The reverberations and tremors of his work are still felt today.

Verdi drowns out the philistines' boos

OPERA
Tom Sutcliffe

THE wave of booring director Tim Albery and designer Antony McDonald during curtain calls for Covent Garden's stunning premiere of Nabucco sadly obscured the magnificence of the performance. I was not a fan of the staging when it was unveiled in Cardiff last year: its bald, modern imagery does not evoke the epic sweep of the tragic biblical story of Babylonian captivity. But it does have the cardinal virtue of focusing on the typically Verdian relationships at the heart of the story (daughter-father, bad and good sisters,

contrasting leaders). It also makes the twists of the narrative believable on stage. That is no mean feat, for early Verdi creeps like silent movie editing. But the knee-jerk impudence of philistine plutocrats in the stalls with what felt to be an inappropriate look to the show led them to be mean-spirited to the singers and conductor. The stalls audience were getting up to leave, when such gripping opera singing and acting should have meant lots more calls. This was, in fact, a wonderfully exciting event. The debut here of 24-year-old Wladimir Jurowski clearly launched a major new operatic talent and the orchestra played magnificently for him.

Heading the supporting cast was no less than Denua O'Neill in fine voice as the Hebrew prince Ismaele in love with Nabucco's daughter Fenena (the lovely Leah-Marjan Jones), who converts to Judaism. The central trio, however, raised the show to a special peak. Nina Rautio, punchy and hard-hitting in a red wig, caught Abigail's tricky character perfectly. Though some top notes were overblown she managed the coloratura with great dispatch. Her timbre's warmth and ambivalence added to the psychological reality. All three principals fitted into the Albery style with conviction. Ramey as Zaccaria injected an

ideal dignity into his larger than life singing, the dark tone never wavering in beauty even under the greatest stress. But it was Agache's Nabucco that led the performance like a Colossus, his flawless legato singing moulded to every emotional detail, his vocal power and use of the stage irresistibly commanding. The moment when he declares himself a god and demands worship, before immediately being struck with madness, was riveting, and equally compelling was the dramatic scene where Abigail challenges him about her slave status. Agache is that rare Verdian treasure, the true basso cantante, most humanly believable of all operatic voices. He has now reached full maturity as a vocal and theatrical performer.

The legend of longevity

ROCK
Caroline Sullivan

ONCE a rock star hits 50, the mere fact that he's still breathing guarantees sold-out gigs for the rest of his life. If he also produces a decent record or two, that's a bonus. No wonder 52-year-old Lou Reed, who is both alive and making pretty good albums, excites such interest. That said, those who made the Empire in west London ring with howls of "Louoo!" weren't there because his current album, Set The Twilight Reeling, is "pretty good"; they were there to see a legend. Reed is one of the only rock singers about whom that word can be used without hyperbole. Quite apart from forming the Velvet Underground, whose morbid minimalism inspires still, he had intimate knowledge of heroin and bisexuality when such things were shocking. Even now, "Shaved his legs and then he was a she", from his transvestite diary Walk On The Wild Side, must be one of the most subversive lines ever to make the Top 10.

So Reed turned up (at the uncommonly early time of 8.45pm) and filled the terms of his legend contract. That is, he sang in an uncompromising monotone, kept audience contact to a minimum and set his lip in a "Do you feel lucky, punk?" scowl. It was as if an actor were playing Lou Reed, yet he was fascinating to behold. Even his contradictory appearance — uncomprehensibly fuzzy hair and aged face set atop a schoolboy's figure — were oddly striking. The leather trousers we'll overlook.

"Louoo!" they called again, but he didn't favour them with so much as a sneer as he rattled off Sweet Jane, NYC Man and Dirty Boulevard. There were an award for Best Opening 10 Minutes, Reed would have walked it. His guitar-playing was sparse and nasty, his band roared and blue lights provided a whiff of Velvet decadence. If you stood at the back, you could pretend Reed was still the chilly doyen of the Manhattan demi-monde. It was a heady few minutes, during which even his trousers made sense.

Sadly, it was only to be repeated once, during the drug-addled favourite Waiting For The Man. "Hey, white boy, what's that uptown?" Reed sang iconically over Fernando Saunders' sluggish bassline, a moment that will live on the next time anyone calls Reed "dangerous".

As for the rest of it, picture four middle-aged guys playing banjos and a rock and that about sums it up. It wasn't that Reed didn't care, but that the songs, most taken from his new LP, weren't up to it. Although his return to rock is a relief after the sombreness of the Magic And Lust album, what seems vibrant on record is less so on stage. The new disc section — forgive me, Father — was downright boring. The set regained ground towards the end with Hookywooky, one of Reed's many paens to his girlfriend, performance artist and singer, Laurie Anderson. By "With Your Parents, she was back in form, sounding simultaneously disgusted and asleep. Reed hasn't lost the will, like other acts if she's slept with him, she is temporary Iggy Pop. He's still got it leads on his own terms. I don't expect miracles.

The fluffy bunny as unwitting hero

TELEVISION
Nancy Banks-Smith

THE CHARM of a film about rabbits is not necessarily the rabbits. It is probable that no one in An Obsession With... Rabbits (BBC1) had been on television before.

What we have here is driven snow, carrying only the fresh footprints of television virgins. Such people have a shine which is quite different to professional polish.

Tony Gubbins and his lurcher, Daisy, were out rabbiting by night. No, it's not called poaching. Behave. It's called lamping. Daisy reminded me, oddly, of Two Ton Tessie O'Shea, who used to sing: "There a little bit here and a little bit there and it all belongs to me." "This dog", said Tony proudly, "is a

grey-ound-Bedlington-grey-ound-collie. She's 25 per cent of four dogs. Quarter, quarter, quarter, quarter. Sit down! She's just a smashing dog. Very good at what she was bred for." You could have threaded Daisy through a needle and darned your socks with her. She had length without breadth like a piece of string and came to a point at both ends.

The rabbit lunked wildly but Daisy seemed able to bend in the middle. Her front half turned back while her back half was still going forward.

The rabbit joined others hanging limply over Tony's arm. He said "I've done daylight" are coursing. Which I used to gamble a lot. I've raced grey-ounds. But this is the real stuff, if you've got a good dog. A good friend." Daisy looked up at him on

cue. "Which Daisy is, aren't yer?" He pulled her ear. "I don't drink. I don't smoke but if I've got a vice this is it. Love it. Love it. My wife thinks I'm a complete lunatic." Tony and Daisy padded off in a pool of light.

Eileen Early, a comely sort of woman, sat spinning her rabbits. "What I'm spinning here is white angora rabbit. I've dyed it in my microwave and I'm mixing it with dog. The dog is a border collie that lives next door. I've spun camel, llama, dog, samoyed — well, that's dog, of course. Angora rabbit fur is so soft and warm it will soften up any other hair or give it warmth."

Apparently angora fur in your wellies is a great comfort in winter. Or, if you are a buck rabbit, digits stuffed with female angora fur. The rabbit's reputation is, Eileen admits, well merited.

"But," she said, "they're no worse than humans," and shook all over.

Rabbits came over with the Romans and must often wish they'd gone back with them. Bang, bang, bang, bang goes the farmer's gun. Or, nowadays, poof. "D'you hear that poof instead of a crack?" asked the farmer. "We're using subsonic ammunition with a softnose bullet and a silencer on the .22 rifle. You have a much better chance of taking out two or three rabbits instead of one."

Gas is even quieter. The exterminators were a husband and wife team. He said, "I'm putting the tablet down the hole now... as soon as this is sealed up the molestart will start working on the tablet, giving off a vapour, which will disperse its way down the burrows."

"And put the rabbits to sleep," she said quickly. "And literally do no more than put the rabbits into a deep sleep," he agreed

and gave the hole a good whack with his spade. Everyone who appeared was credited except the medical researcher, who must have felt he'd been brave enough. He has so many rabbits in steel cages, they narrowed in the distance like railway lines. Except for two in plastic boxes, slowly filling with smoke. He was studying asthma and allergies. "It is a growing problem that professional researchers like myself are afraid to do what I'm doing now because they might be a target for some animal rights group."

One rabbit's paws had stopped skidding on the plastic and its eyes were closing. "You can almost consider the rabbit an unwitting hero in this," he said. Nicholas Southgate produced this refreshing documentary. You have to pat a lot of pets and eat a lot of rabbit pie to make a film like this.

Outsiders looking in

THEATRE
Michael Billington

WARTIME Cairo has long been a magnet for social satirists. But Martin Sherman's Some Sunny Day at London's Hampstead Theatre is more in the nature of an antic, slightly surreal, comedy about the possibility of tapping into one's real feelings while being an outsider in a foreign land.

The setting is a cluttered Cairo flat, beautifully evoked in William Dudley's design. In 1942, Sherman is less concerned with military tactics than with the bizarre and obsessive behaviour of a group of people at a moment of national panic and the possibility of self-discovery in a time of crisis.

Horatio, who works in military propaganda, has fallen for a belly-dancer to the dismay of his wife, Emily, who casts voodoo spells over her. Meanwhile Alec, a stiff-upper-lip young officer, finds himself torn between the desert war and his passion for Robin, a Kiwi journalist. And the duchess, a European émigrée, stakes everything on catching the midnight train to Palestine.

Sherman paints a vivid picture of a manic world, in which everyone is considered a potential spy. But his real point seems to be that, in this topsy-turvy society, people wake up to their true feelings. Just as Horatio is driven by erotic obsession to wife-murder, so Alec acknowledged his gayness and the duchess her gulf over the death of her fellow-Jewish lesbian lover.

At times the comedy becomes excessively whimsical but Sherman suggests that it is only in moments of extremity that people shed their protective exteriors and embrace their true identity.

It is a frenetic but engaging play and is a credit to the hit by an ace cast. Colin Ridgegrave as Horatio, gives a remarkable display of sweating fixation and sexual possession, while Cheryl Campbell as his vengeful wife, is a riot of derangement.

Rupert Everett is also otherworldly funny and believable as the prophetic journalist who, as he says at one point, is more Gertrude than T. E. Lawrence; and Sara Kestelman lends the Jewish refugee the right gravitas.

Mind the age gap

CINEMA
Derek Malcolm

ANY FILM which deals with the fetishistic passion of an elderly gentleman for a beautiful but vulnerable young woman has to tread carefully. But Claude Sautet's Nelly and Monsieur Arnaud is not Lolita. Nor is the film really about sex at all. The nearest it gets to that is when the kindly, impeccably dressed veteran sits beside the bed in which the object of his desire lies asleep and, without touching her, makes as if to stroke her naked back. This is a film in which nothing, and everything, happens.

Sautet is an extraordinary director, whose command of style has only been celebrated in Britain since Un Coeur En Hiver, but who has been a master of his particular kind of cinema since 1970's Les Choses de la Vie.

With Nelly, he has refined it still further. This is one of his quietest examinations of the French haute bourgeoisie, so you sometimes wonder if anything driven by the plot will disturb its steady progress. It is also one of his most resonant movies, devoid of Claude Chabrol's irony and wicked humour, but possessed of the same powers of observation.

Nelly (Emmanuelle Béart) is a 25-year-old woman who meets Michel Serrault's old friend of her mother's in a café. Impeccably mannered, when he learns that she is deciding to leave her wayward husband, he offers her first money and then a job. He's retired from business and writing a book on his early experiences as a judge in the French colonies. She refuses the money but begins work anyway as his secretary. The extent of Arnaud's fascination with the young woman only comes into the open when he learns that Vincent, a young editor from his publishing house (Jean-Hughes Anglade), is attracted to her. Nothing happens, but when the old man asks if she's slept with him, she is furious and says she has. Soon enough, an affair starts. But she refuses to



Dream on... Michel Serrault (M Arnaud) gets close to Emmanuelle Béart (Nelly)

live with her new lover. She is as hooked on the old man's affections as he is on the thought of her.

Sautet, with the aid of an extraordinary performance from Serrault and a luminous one from Béart, orchestrates the progress of this obsessional relationship with the kind of precision that only a director fully in command of both his style and material could muster.

He suggests, without underlining anything, that both participants need the comforting presence of each other — the one in order to rediscover the heady feelings of his youth, the other as a solid presence within a world she cannot easily deal with.

This may seem very little upon which to base a film. But Sautet knows exactly what he is doing, and while skilfully suggesting that this well-heeled world is as recidivist as its English equivalent he quietly gives us all the evidence we need of the amoufering emotional undertow behind it.

Even Michel Lonsdale's cameo of the 'slabby Monsieur Dollabella, trying to blackmail Arnaud by revealing the ruthlessness of his past as a businessman, seems to underline the French insistence that before everything else come social graces. Serrault's ability to suggest with the merest look or gesture why he

is one of France's greatest character actors has never been more evident. The West knows him best as the flouncing Albin in the three Cane Aux Folles movies. Here he increases his stature immeasurably.

Nelly and Monsieur Arnaud will not be a film for everybody. For some, it may seem slow and so even in pace that real drama seems to be carefully and deliberately avoided. But as a quiet, intimate dissection of the emotions it is hard to beat.

N STIG BJORKMAN'S book In Conversation With Woody Allen, he asks the question: "When you were growing up, was sex riot or less a forbidden subject?" Allen replies, "Completely. It was not talked about. Nobody even practised it."

In Mighty Aphrodite, Allen's character Lenny has a certain amount of difficulty with the process, too. A middle-aged, middle-class sports-writer, he conducts himself with propriety throughout, even when faced with so provocative an 'encouragement' as Mira Sorvino's Linda, a porn star and prostitute with the 'stage' name of Judy Cum.

Mrs Cum turns out to be the mother of his adopted child, a three-year-old genius, and because Lenny has been kind to her, she offers him her services free.

He may be married to Helena Bonham Carter's Amanda. Nevertheless, such an open-hearted piece of generosity is obviously tempting to your average New York nebbish. This one decides instead to match her with Kevin (Michael Rapaport), a slow-witted but pleasant young boxer.

Finally, when Kevin finds out about her past and Amanda's successful art dealer, announces that she's moving out in order to find out whether she's in love with Peter Weiler's Jerry, her rich backer, he allows himself a night's solace with her.

That's all there is to the plot, as slight as any he has given us in recent years. But the film is distinguished by Sorvino's Oscar-winning performance, Bonham Carter's successful transformation into a chain-smoking denizen of Manhattan and Allen's easy fluency in a part he seems to have played a good many times before.

It is also made diverting by the introduction of a masked Greek chorus, led by F Murray Abraham, who turn their attention to Lenny's problems. Unfortunately this device, hilarious to start with, is overused.

Lenny's attempt to educate Linda out of her previous lifestyle could be seen as a mild patronising, but the whole film is pretty good value, and expertly made.

yo av viv shi stu drt ryt, Du, Joe, Je, fu ite L. F. plaid; aux expic crit both an accio vant stant rom n a d y et,

John Curran

Paperbacks

Nicholas Lazard
London at War 1939-1945, by Philip Ziegler (Mandarin, £6.99)

LIVELY, readable history from the ground up. Ziegler, chronicler of the establishment, does this so well that it suggests he is ideally suited to this kind of work.

The Red Notebook, by Paul Auster (Faber, £7.99)

MISCELLANEOUS jottings which show that Auster's world is definitely Austerian: a place of bizarre co-incidences, people making fortuitously whimsical life-changing decisions.

Behind Closed Doors, by Alma Reyes, trans David Watson (Phoenix, £5.99)

HERE WE are: interactive fiction. Even better: dirty interactive fiction. The book can be read from either end, depending on which gender you want your narrator to be.

Multilingualism, by John Edwards (Penguin, £7.99)

THERE ARE about 200 countries in the world, and 5,000 or so languages which have to be squeezed into them all.

The Blue Suit, by Richard Rayner (Pleasor, £5.99)

A NEW genre has sprung up: the young man's autobiography written before said young man has achieved anything.

DO YOU HAVE A BOOK TO PUBLISH?

Then leading independent publisher may be able to help you. THE PENTLAND PRESS

Some enchanted evening

Laura Cumming
Slowness by Milan Kundera trans Linda Asher Faber 132pp £12.99

MILAN KUNDERA'S new novel is set in the park of a French chateau, "a little plot of walks in the midst of a vast network of highways".

Pleasure is in fact Kundera's theme, but his variations are as philosophical as ever. Follow the lovers down a twilight avenue and you glide through a critique of Epicurus (pleasure as the absence of pain).

pass through the Enlightenment via Liaisons Dangereuses (pleasure as sexual conquest: too competitive, too public).

Kundera introduces this concept with lightsome charm. Motoring down to the chateau with his wife, he is persecuted by the futile impudence of the man in the car behind.

In his adroit commentary on Liaisons Dangereuses, Kundera remarks that "nothing in the novel stays secret: everyone seems to live inside an enormous resonating seashell".

In the past, Kundera has made a feature out of the abrupt splicing of essay and fiction. Here, they are in easy harmony.

though conducting a leisurely conversation over dinner with the reader. Casually recommending a French 18th century novella, he begins to recount its tale of two lovers, restricted by circumstance to a single night at the chateau.

Halfway through the novel, Mrs Kundera chides her husband for being too jocular: "seriousness keeps you safe".

The meaning of Kundera's brief novel is expressed in that moment. So is his achievement: infinite riches in a little room.

Yours sadistically

Roddy Doyle... exploring the world of domestic violence

Irish writer Roddy Doyle talks to Linda Grant about his latest novel

RODDY DOYLE, widely (though he says unfairly) regarded as one of literature's lads, has written a novel about an alcoholic woman, physically abused by her husband.

Paul began as a character in his television drama series The Family. He felt "she had an awful lot more she could say".

One thing that really floored me was a husband hitting a wife when she was pregnant so she lost the baby, the sheer evil of it.

When The Family was shown on Irish television, viewers complained that Paula deserved what she got because she was an idiot.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

The Boss and DT

John Sweeney
Below the Parapet: The Biography of Denis Thatcher by Carol Thatcher HarperCollins 302pp £16.99

THE MOMENT one considers Denis Thatcher, one of the great absurd figures in the national pantheon, a smile inevitably breaks out.

Below the Parapet: The Biography of Denis Thatcher by Carol Thatcher HarperCollins 302pp £16.99

Below the Parapet: The Biography of Denis Thatcher by Carol Thatcher HarperCollins 302pp £16.99

Below the Parapet: The Biography of Denis Thatcher by Carol Thatcher HarperCollins 302pp £16.99

Below the Parapet: The Biography of Denis Thatcher by Carol Thatcher HarperCollins 302pp £16.99

Below the Parapet: The Biography of Denis Thatcher by Carol Thatcher HarperCollins 302pp £16.99

Below the Parapet: The Biography of Denis Thatcher by Carol Thatcher HarperCollins 302pp £16.99

Below the Parapet: The Biography of Denis Thatcher by Carol Thatcher HarperCollins 302pp £16.99



the PM's bouffant-haired PR guru — describes the night as "one of the greatest mistakes of his life".

A party at Number Ten followed, when our hero unbuttoned what he really felt about the world to Nick Farrell, an actor who had played a policeman on stage.

Less happy was the night when The Boss-DT (as Downing Street used to log his invites to official benenos) went to see the play of the "Dear Bill" letters.

But the figure that emerges from Carol's book is more complex, more contradictory and, in many ways, sadder than the figment.

Denis Thatcher's cold ambition cramped family life. The cruellest cut comes in a quote from Nanny Barbaree: Denis, she recalls, "was very good at remembering to wave up at the nursery window as he left for work."

When I mentioned to Denis that I'd been to see Margeot, he paused and looked rather misty-eyed. "Is she still incredibly beautiful?" he asked.

Thrillers Chris Pettit

Walking Back the Cat, by Robert Littell (Faber, £14.99)

IN A class of his own, Littell's title refers to retracing an operation to see what's gone wrong.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.



Roddy Doyle... exploring the world of domestic violence

Yours sadistically

Irish writer Roddy Doyle talks to Linda Grant about his latest novel

RODDY DOYLE, widely (though he says unfairly) regarded as one of literature's lads, has written a novel about an alcoholic woman, physically abused by her husband.

Paul began as a character in his television drama series The Family. He felt "she had an awful lot more she could say".

One thing that really floored me was a husband hitting a wife when she was pregnant so she lost the baby, the sheer evil of it.

When The Family was shown on Irish television, viewers complained that Paula deserved what she got because she was an idiot.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

no more than erogenous zones walking around on a pair of erogenous zones.

"Where I grew up — and probably everywhere else — you were either a slut or a tight bitch, one or the other if you were a girl — and usually before you were 13."

Once a girl had accepted the inevitability of her fate — that in order not to be a slut she had to be a genius-level brain or a nun — she set about becoming a ride, sexually bold, available and competent.

The difficulty Doyle is going to face is that his novel will be judged as a textbook on everything from Irish education to alcoholism.

When The Family was shown on Irish television, viewers complained that Paula deserved what she got because she was an idiot.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

Also the reporter's estranged stepfather, which prompts questions of, uh, identity. Ferrigno is nearly very good.

any doubt that he loved her when they got married. I wanted to get across that she wasn't making a mistake when she married him.

Doyle thinks there's not a household in Ireland that doesn't have a Roddy Doyle book in it somewhere. This one will be hard to avoid.

Although the book feels right as an account of women's perception of

male violence, it is the demands of literature that allow Paula to triumph. In the end she strikes back; he leaves and she hears no more of him until the police knock on the door to tell her that he is dead.

Doyle thinks there's not a household in Ireland that doesn't have a Roddy Doyle book in it somewhere. This one will be hard to avoid.

For women writers, however, it is a bitter irony that what may be the most accessible novel on domestic violence has been written by a man who once appeared on Fantasy Football League.

If you love books... THE GOOD BOOK GUIDE

If you want to know which are worth reading If you appreciate honest, unbiased reviewing

Read The Good Book Guide Magazine

Carefully selected, intelligently written and beautifully illustrated, it's a superb guide to the best books, cassettes, videos and CD-ROMS published in the UK.

As a subscriber, you'll be able to select and order as many or as few titles as you want from each issue and have them delivered directly to your door — anywhere in the world.

Life really is richer, brighter and altogether more lively with The Good Book Guide around.

But don't take our word for it, take out a 6 month subscription and find out for yourself!

Six good reasons to subscribe

- 6 monthly review magazines
6 copies of the GBG Extra
The latest copy of The Good Book Guide Catalogue
A FREE £5 token to spend.
Regular special offers
It'll only cost you £12*

OUR DOUBLE GUARANTEE

- NO OBLIGATION TO BUY
You'll never be obliged to buy anything and nothing will be sent to you unless you order it.
NO OBLIGATION TO STAY
You may cancel your subscription at any time, for any reason, and we will refund you the unexpired portion of your subscription fee.

*The 6 month subscription rate is: UK £12, Europe £14 (\$25), R.O.W. £16 (\$28).

I enclose a cheque for £..... made payable to The Good Book Guide

Please charge £..... to my credit card?

Mr/Ms/Miss/Ms: Billings: Surname

Address

Postcode: Country: G996

The Good Book Guide, 24 Seward Street, London EC1V 3GB, UK

Tel: +44 (0)171 490 9900 Fax: +44 (0)171 490 9906

Chess Leonards Barden

THE ANNUAL Vereingde Spaarbank tournament in Amsterdam was the scene of Garry Kasparov's worst setback of 1995. He lost twice in six rounds, failed to win the event, and then excused himself from the prizegiving.

rooks, infiltrated his king and queen into the black position, then potted black pawns until Kasparov resigned at move 66.

Topalov-Kasparov, Sicilian

1 e4 c5 2 Nc3 d6 3 d4 cxd4 4 Nxd4 Nf6 5 Nc3 a6 6 Bc4 e6 7 Bx7 Nbd7 8 f4 Nc5 9 0-0 Nced4 Kasparov had ample experience of 6 Bc4 in his 1993 match with Nigel Short.

Lautier-Short, Queen's Indian

1 d4 Nf6 2 c4 e6 3 Nc3 b6 4 a3 Bb7 5 Nc3 d5 6 Qc2 a6 7 cxd5 exd5 8 g3 Nbd7 9 Bf4 Be7 10 Bg2 Nf8 11 Ne5 Ne6 12 Qa4-Kf8 13 Rd1 Nxd4 14 g4 g6 15 Qb3 Kg7 16 Bf3 Rf8 17 h4 Rb8 18 h5 e5 19 a3 Qd6 20 Rg1 Qe6 21 hxg6 hxg6 22 Qc2 Kh8 23 Rh1 Kg7 24 Rg1 Kh8 25 dxc5 hxc5 26 Nxd5! Bxd5 27 Bxd5 Nxd5 28 Rxd5 Rf5 29 Rd2 g5 30 Nc6 Rf8 31 Nxe7 Qxe7 32 Qc3+ Kg8 33 Qc4+ Rf7 34 Rd5 Kf8 35 Rg5 Rxf4 36 Qxa6 Rxd2 37 Qc8+ Qe8 38 Rg5+ Resigns.

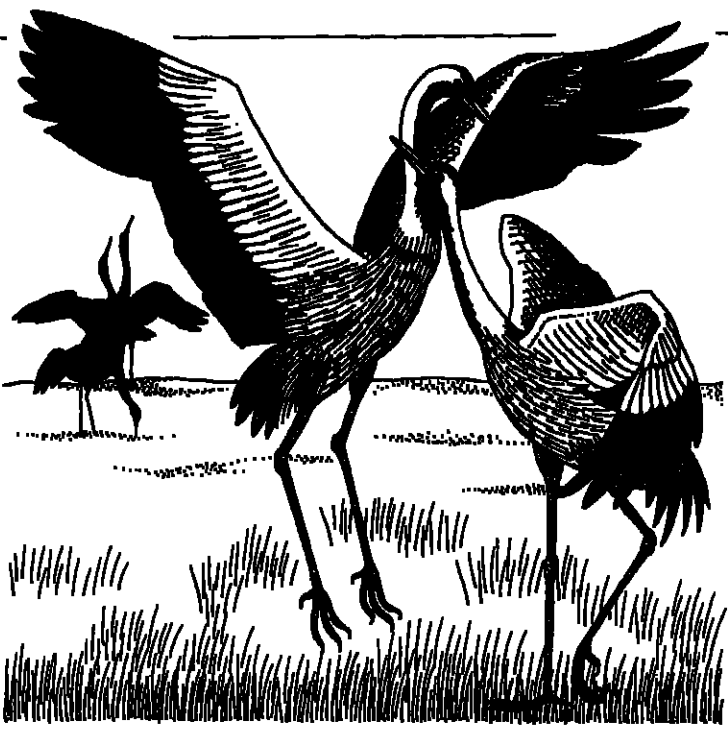
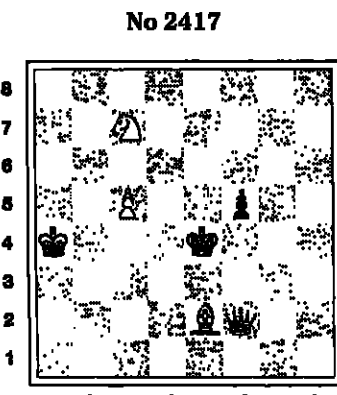


ILLUSTRATION: ANH HOBDAV

Call of the crane

Mark Cooper

THE MAGNIFICENT birds I went to see recently enjoy an almost sacred status in oriental mythology. To the Japanese they are emblems of longevity, and to the Indians symbols of devotion.



No 2417

White mates in three moves, against any defence. An easy-looking problem which took me half an hour to solve. Can you do better?

No 2416: 1 Nb2. If Kxd5 2 Nc4 and if Kxc4 3 Bg8, or Kc6 3 Bc4, or Kc6 3 Nc7. If 1... Kc5 2 Nc7 Kd6 3 Bg3 or Kf4 3 Nxd3.

while smaller birds roosting in bushes around me seemed to be caught in a last convulsion of alarm, before the darkness smothered their fears and they lapsed into silence. The moon and stars were soon showing.

In fact, it was so dark and the six birds were flying so low over the bushes I could barely make them out. But in flight Common Cranes are unmistakable. One call almost felt the inrush of air following the long deliberate uplift of their massive wings.

After only a few dozen of these powerful rhythmic strokes, they pitched down silently into the heart of the marsh. Lasting just a few seconds, it was a typical sighting and once they disappeared completely I could only imagine what followed.

As for cranes land, especially in spring, they leap and "dance" and the males raise their heads skywards to deliver a trumpeting call. Long convolutions in the trachea enable them to produce an extremely powerful note.

Football Premiership: Southampton 3 Manchester United 1

Saints give United an almighty shock

Martin Thorpe

THIS was the weekend that football lovers experienced the problems of premature evaluation, a psychological weakness afflicting those who crown a team as champions before they have actually won the title. Or lost it. In 1992 United's late jitters let in Leeds, the following year Villa let in United, in 1994 Blackburn almost trumped United, and last season United nearly overhauled Blackburn.

largely with the author of the season's shock result — Dave Merrington, a Geordie-born lay preacher with a pulp zeal who whipped up Southampton into such a high state of self-belief that they beat arguably the best team in the country.

troubled by the problem. Only a late Cantona equaliser salvaged a recent point at spirited QPR.

own area had almost let in Dodd after 20 seconds before the captain Steve Bruce committed a petulant foul on Charlton in retaliation for a perceived offence seconds earlier. It proved a costly piece of indiscipline.

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Kenya's Boston 1-2-3 party

MOSSES TANUI led home more than 50,000 runners in the 100th staging of the Boston marathon, the world's oldest, first held in 1897 when 15 runners started.

been battered and sexually molested by Tyson in a private booth at the Clique nightclub. The boxer is into the second of four years of parole after serving three years in prison for rape. Any serious breach would return him automatically to prison.

of his hotel. However, when it was discovered that Jones, who has been shown the red card 11 times in his footballing career but is now trying to change his image, had been sent the invitation by mistake, he was allowed to attend the meeting, but strictly as an observer.

Football results and league tables

Table with columns: Team, P, W, D, L, F, A, Pts. Lists results for FA Cup and Premier League.

ENGLISH LEAGUE: First Division

Table with columns: Team, P, W, D, L, F, A, Pts. Lists results for First Division.

SCOTTISH LEAGUE: Premier

Table with columns: Team, P, W, D, L, F, A, Pts. Lists results for Scottish League.

Football results and league tables

Table with columns: Team, P, W, D, L, F, A, Pts. Lists results for various football leagues.

Quick crossword no. 310

Crossword puzzle grid with clues for Across and Down.

Bridge Zia Mahmood

BRIDGE TODAY, a US magazine, invited its readers to submit real-life deals that might have been played by Victor Mollo's Rueful Rabbit. The Rabbit was a lovable character who, though hopelessly incompetent, contrived to make hugely successful bids and played entirely by accident.

The usual meaning of a 3NT opening is a long, solid minor suit with perhaps a trick on the side — the so-called "Gambling 3NT" opening.

extrordinary in an opening bid.

Well, the explanation is that South was a true Rueful Rabbit, with little experience of the tournament game. His partner, whom he had met just before the start of the competition, was a more experienced practitioner who had made the fatal mistake of trying to persuade South to play one or two conventions.

and this was the bidding:

After the ace of clubs lead, there was no way in which the defenders could come to more than three club tricks and a spade. As a test of your imagination, try to think what might have prompted South to make so

WITH just three months to go until the start of the Olympic Games in Atlanta a series of problems threaten to overshadow the giant party planned for the celebration of the Centennial Games.

These include a lawsuit between the organisers and the designers of the Olympic Stadium, fears over the completion of the swimming arena 18 months after they were put up, growing local concern about crime and terrorism and worries that the \$200 million event still needs \$1.7 billion to cover the cost to stage.

PROBLEMS continue to follow

boxing champion Mike Tyson faces new charges of sexual assault on a 25-year-old beauty salon employee. Chicago police hospital where she went for treatment, alleging that she had

VINNIE JONES, British soccer's hard man, was ruled offside when he arrived as a self-appointed ambassador of sporting tolerance and fair play to attend a Council of Europe conference on sport in Amsterdam.

The Wimbledon footballer was refused admission and the organisers even tried to throw him out

THESE are anxious times for football fans.

When Liverpool scored the late winner against Newcastle, Dominic Houder, watching the game on TV, kicked out in frustration and accidentally knocked the budgie's case off its stand. The bird died minutes later. The story appeared in a newspaper and Dominic was inundated with offers of replacement budgies. He turned them down, explaining: "If I had other budgies and Newcastle kept losing, I could become known as a serial budgie killer."

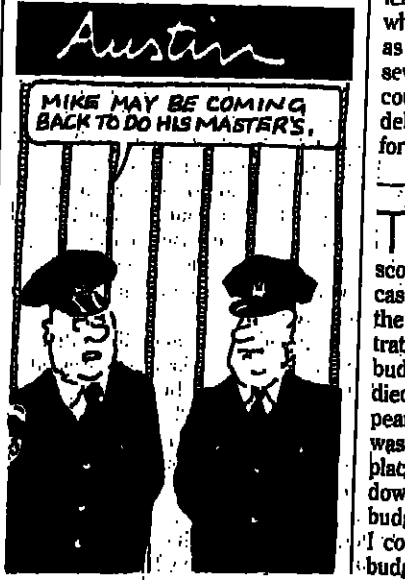
by Shipperley while Bruce and Neville watched him do it.

Up until this point United's sharpest attacks had been aimed at each other as they fought to apportion blame for the mess. But the culprit for Southampton's third goal was the normally impeccable Schmichel, who overreached himself coming for Shipperley's cross and pained the ball down to Le Tissier.

Any other player might have panicked at finding the big Dane at his feet, but the skills of Southampton's mercurial genius are returning after his bout of England blues, and his nonchalant flick over the prostrate goalkeeper was followed by an equally calm shot inside the far post.

United really did have a strip torn off them at half-time. They emerged in blue and white, having lost patience with the away-day grey in which they have never won. It risked upsetting Umbro and the soccer authorities but they needed something. It did not work. Giggs scored a late consolation goal but the damage was too great to repair.

Special Life



MIKE MAY BE COMING BACK TO DO HIS MASTERS.